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Mary H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, p. 60.

Charles Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, Librairie Auguste Picard, 1925, II, pp. 73-78.

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12. Upon first reference, titles and bibliographical data should be given amply as in paragraphs 9 and 10. In all succeeding references, the shortest intelligible form should be used. Such abbreviations as *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, and *op. cit.* should not ordinarily be used to refer farther back than the preceding page.

13. All references should be verified before the manuscript is submitted for publication. Articles that are incomplete in this respect will be returned to the author for completion before acceptance.

14. The funds of the ART BULLETIN do not admit of an expenditure of over fifteen per cent (15%) of the cost of composition for alterations in articles once set up in galley proof. In order that contributors may be spared the expense of exceeding this allowance, they are urged to prepare their manuscripts as nearly as possible in conformity with the above rules. In cases of doubt as to form, contributors are referred to *A Manual of Style* published by the University of Chicago Press.

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16. The name of the institution with which an author is connected will be printed at the end of his contribution; brackets will be used to denote that the author is a student at that institution.

ITALIAN PRIMITIVES AT KONOPIŠTĚ

MILLARD MEISS

EVER since the late eighteenth century, when artists, historians, and collectors first showed a persistent interest in Italian primitives, the number of paintings known to scholars has continued to grow. It is evident, however, that this long period of discovery or rediscovery is coming to an end. Except perhaps for the panels of the thirteenth century, the last to be understood, the number and the quality of the primitives brought to light in recent years have diminished greatly. Twenty years ago new works of Masaccio or Giovanni Bellini still were scattered through the journals. Today there are mostly Squarcionechi. In these circumstances it is surprising to come across a collection of some forty unpublished Italian panels and altarpieces, even though only one is of really great beauty. Equally surprising is the fact that in this instance the collector preceded the student by one hundred and fifty years. For whereas the paintings are still unknown to scholars, they were almost certainly brought together in the last years of the eighteenth century. They compose one of the very early collections of Italian primitives in Europe, and they have thus a certain interest for the history of taste.

1. TOMMASO DEGLI OBIZZI'S PANELS

The paintings, mostly Italian panels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, hang in the chapel and in several rooms of a castle at Konopiště, about thirty miles from Prague.¹ The castle and the collection belonged to Archduke Franz Ferdinand, whose assassination marked the beginning of the first World War. The vicissitudes of the

1. Professor Josef Cibulka of the University of Prague kindly told me of the existence of the collection and arranged a visit for me in 1929.

A polyptych on the altar of the chapel in the castle signed by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna was published by Leo Planiscig, "Un polittico sconosciuto di Antonio Vivarini e di Giovanni d'Alemagna," *Bollettino d'arte*, 1, 1922, p. 427, without any reference however to other paintings in the castle. Planiscig did mention the existence of the collection in his introduction to *Die Estensche Kunstsammlung, Skulpturen und Plastiken des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1919, I, p. v.

My friend Richard Offner, whom I informed of the discovery of the collection, published two Daddesque triptychs (*Corpus of Florentine Painting*, New York, Sec. III, vol. IV, 1934, pp. 22, 130, pls. 10, 50). I am much indebted to him for arranging to have the paintings photographed.

I wish to thank the Frick Art Reference Library for the photographs reproduced as Figs. 7, 19-21.

collection and to some extent its very formation were determined by several of the major political events in modern European history.² The paintings now in Konopiště were part of the collection formed by the Marchese Tommaso degli Obizzi in his castle Catajo near Padua in the years before his death in 1805. Catajo had been built in the sixteenth century by the Venetian Condottiere Pio Enea il Vecchio, who named it after *Catai*, the palace of Kublai Khan described by Marco Polo. Tommaso inherited along with the castle a collection of objects of various kinds; there are records of the existence in Catajo in the seventeenth century of a collection of armor and musical instruments. But of all the successive owners, he was the most active collector, and he seems to have acquired the antiquities, the paintings and sculpture that composed a large part of the collection in the castle at his death. The last of his line, Tommaso willed his collection to Ercole III, Duke of Modena, and he stipulated that at Ercole's death, which in fact occurred a few months after his own, the objects were to go to the youngest son of Ercole's daughter and her husband, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. The property was thus acquired by the Austrian line of the Este family, passing from Archduke Maximilian (†1822) to Francesco IV (†1846) and Francesco V (†1875). The latter fled from Italy during the Revolution of 1859, taking along to Vienna a few of the paintings.³ His heir was his nephew, the above mentioned Franz Ferdinand (†1914), who brought the bulk of the Obizzi collection to Vienna in 1896. Shortly afterwards, the Archduke transferred most of the paintings and armor to his castle at Konopiště. The sculpture and a few paintings were left in Vienna and they compose the well-known Estensche Kunstsammlung.

On the basis of sources published up to now, one cannot be certain that every painting in the collection of Archduke Franz Ferdinand once belonged to Tommaso degli Obizzi, nor indeed that every painting in the collection of the

2. The history of the collection has been given by Planiscig in the introduction to the catalogue of the mediaeval and Renaissance sculpture which once formed part of it (*Die Estensche Kunstsammlung*, pp. v-viii). Planiscig touched only briefly upon the question of taste raised by the collection of mediaeval and early Renaissance art at the end of the eighteenth century.

3. A. Venturi, *La R. Galleria Estense*, Modena, 1882, p. 388, refers specifically to a *Madonna* by Andrea del Sarto.

latter had been acquired by Tommaso himself rather than by his predecessors. But there is sufficient evidence to assure us that most of the Italian primitives now at Konopiště were in Catajo by 1806, and that they probably had been bought by Tommaso degli Obizzi.

Immediately after Tommaso's death, his heirs commissioned Filippo Aurelio Visconti, a Roman antiquary and professional appraiser, to draw up an inventory of the collection. This inventory, which has been published,⁴ shows that Tommaso owned — in addition to Roman antiquities (sculpture, architectural fragments, coins), and late Gothic and Renaissance sculpture — some thirty or more Italian panels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Though the entries are brief, a number of paintings now in Konopiště can be identified with more or less certainty.⁵

Some of the paintings at Catajo were removed before the collection was taken to Vienna and Konopiště. Between 1822 and 1846 Duke Francesco IV selected a number for his collection at Modena, and they are now in the gallery of that city.⁶ They are all by minor painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; many of them are Florentine, and they bore Visconti's attribution to painters such as Lorenzo Monaco, Masaccio, Baldovinetti, and Botticelli.

From the viewpoint of the history of taste, the most remarkable aspect of Tommaso degli Obizzi's collection is the large group of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sculptures and paintings. Some of the sculptures are even earlier. Interest in works of this period, and particularly paintings, with which we are now concerned, had almost vanished in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Around 1780 very few people in Europe would have thought of

buying them. In this very year Giovambatista Rossetti, a contemporary of Tommaso in neighboring Padua, published a third edition of his description of the works of art in that city.⁷ Rossetti dedicated the book to his friend and patron, praised his "exquisite taste (*gusto*) for all the fine arts," and the high quality of his collections in Catajo. But Rossetti himself cared very little for Trecento painting. Even Giotto's Paduan frescoes evoked nothing more than a few conventional phrases, reminiscent of Vasari, about the fame of the painter and his comparative skill in those "tempi rozzi." In the Arena it was not the frescoes in the chapel but the remains of the Roman amphitheater which aroused Rossetti's enthusiasm.

Visconti likewise saw very little artistic quality in the early paintings, though he believed that they had a certain documentary value. In several entries he recorded the name of the supposed painter: Giotto (nos. 9561, 962, 963), Spinello Aretino (no. 2148) and Jacopo Cosentino (*sic!* — nos. 938, 940). He occasionally speaks of the diligence of the painter or even of his forceful execution. But he more often characterized the paintings from the negative viewpoint of the classicist: they are simply "not of remote antiquity." In a letter accompanying the inventory, where he discussed the four classes of objects into which the collection was divided — sacred art, metal work and small objects, sculpture and marbles, and natural history — he valued the first class, containing the paintings, chiefly as illustrations of religious history, and also as primitive records of the revival ("risorgimento") of the arts. He concluded his general estimate with a recommendation: ". . . there are many monuments that illustrate the diverse customs of various churches of Europe, and . . . many are the sculptured marbles, the ivories, and the paintings that show the revival of the arts . . . I believe it [the collection of sacred art] to be the most noble ornament that could be given to the palace of a prince of the Church."

The judgments of Rossetti and Visconti conform to the classicist views that were dominant in Italy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The painting of the Trecento and the Quattrocento was believed to have little artistic value, but it was conceded some importance as a necessary stage in the development which culminated in the work of the greatest of all modern masters, Raphael. This conception of advance and dependence derives from Vasari, though it was employed with diminishing interest in both the artistic and historical value of the early art; and the substitution of Raphael for Michelangelo as the culminating figure was both a symptom and a cause of the lower estimation of all of Florentine art. Thus Winckelmann, who with Mengs formulated the doctrine of neo-classicism in Rome just after 1750, regarded Florentine

4. *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia*, III, 1880, pp. 28–80. For another, smaller section of the inventory (nos. 1–916) see *ibidem*, II, pp. 235–265.

5. I suggest the following correlations:

Konopiště no. 21.186, small triptych (Fig. 22), representing the Madonna enthroned, two saints and two angels in the central panel, the *Stigmatization of St. Francis* in the left wing, the *Crucifixion* in the right wing. Inventory no. 960, "Dittico . . . Vergine fra due santi e due angeli colla crocefissione e le stimmate di S. Francesco." Though Visconti wrote "dittico," the description indicates that the work was more probably a triptych. In some other instances also Visconti uses *dittico* where a triptych seems to be indicated.

Konopiště no. 21.209. Triptych by Andrea di Bartolo (Fig. 3). Inventory no. 962, "Dittico grande col augustissima Trinità e varii Santi."

Konopiště no. 21.200. Triptych by Niccolò di Buonaccorso (Fig. 1). Inventory no. 2136, "Dittico grande . . . La Vergine, Antonio e altri santi . . . di greco rito." (Visconti characterizes this and similar works according to supposed ecclesiastical rather than artistic form.)

Konopiště nos. 21.210 and 21.201. Two panels originally composing a diptych, by the Master of the Pietà (Fig. 5). Inventory no. 957, "Dittico colla Vergine e Crocefissione. Medesima forma dell'antecedente" (i.e. "tavola che termina acuminata").

6. For a list of these paintings cf. A. Venturi, *op. cit.*, pp. 383 ff., 393.

7. Giovambatista Rossetti, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture ed architetture di Padova*, Padua, 1780.

art as inferior to Roman just as its ancestor, Etruscan, was inferior to Greek. "Die Schreibart der Florentiner," he wrote in Florence in 1763, "ist, wie ihre Mahlerey, ängstlich, gesucht, und was man 'miser' nennen möchte."⁸ During the eighteenth century those few people who actually looked at the primitives usually turned away with repugnance. The French writer Charles de Brosses, in Italy in 1739, said of Giotto: "this great master, so vaunted in all the histories, would not now be admitted to paint a tennis court."⁹ De Brosses apparently felt that even the relativistic judgment of Giotto as good for his times went too far. The larger public, less familiar with historical thought, for the most part simply ignored early art, as we can see from the itineraries and the comments of the many Englishmen who travelled through Italy while making the Grand Tour.¹⁰

If Tommaso degli Obizzi had been guided only by the conventional and conservative taste of his time, he very probably would not have bought primitives at all — certainly not in such number. What, then, led him to collect them? If the batch of his letters which was still preserved in 1878 is ever published¹¹ we may find statements of his motives. Meanwhile there is evidence of various kinds that can be adduced.

Of the two contemporary references to Tommaso's views that I have found, one is decidedly baffling. C. A. Levi published a letter written by a Mr. Hamilton in Rome, December 20, 1787, after he had visited Catajo.¹² Levi does not further identify the writer, nor does he name the person to whom the letter is addressed. I suppose the writer is Gavin Hamilton (1723–1789), an English painter of classical subjects whose interest in antiquity led him to live in Italy, chiefly in Rome, from 1742 on, and even to undertake excavations, the most important at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.¹³ Like other Englishmen resident in Italy in the eighteenth century, he bought works of art, especially ancient sculptures, for clients at home, and be-

came a dealer as well as an agent.¹⁴ In this capacity he seems to have gone to Catajo. The letter written after this visit reads:

Recently I have had the opportunity of meeting the Marchese Obizzi, who is tired [*stufato*] of his paintings at Catajo near Padua, and who has offered me all that I wish to select in exchange for antiquities, since he does not wish to sell in any other way; he is satisfied furthermore that you choose the best ones for me and that you fix the value of the same; I wish then to know if these paintings are known to you [*Vostra Signoria*] and if there is anything good among them. This gentleman [the Marchese Obizzi] says that he has a panel by Rubens representing the Madonna and other saints; wishing to clean it, he has damaged the head of the Christ Child. He has also a painting by Guercino, an Apollo and Marsyas, something in the style of Correggio, and a sketch or a "modello" by Paolo [Veronese] of the work at S. Gian e Paolo [San Giovanni e Paolo, Venice] and many other things which he doesn't remember; also he owns some paintings of an uncle of his in Padua where he claims that there is a beautiful painting by Giorgione — all, in short, he will part with for antiquities, as you will learn on his arrival in Venice after Christmas. . . .

In the course of a search to learn why a collector bought paintings, it is rather disconcerting to discover only that he wanted to get rid of them. Hamilton does not mention any primitives. We might infer that if Tommaso was bored by them as well as the later paintings, and if his preference for antiquities persisted, he probably bought the early panels before 1787. But there is other evidence to the contrary.

The letter shows that Tommaso sometimes cleaned his paintings. In the inventory (no. 962 — "Giotto"), Visconti speaks of a painting "alquanto ritoccata da moderno ristaurato." Perhaps some of the retouching and regilding which the Konopiště panels have suffered was done before 1805 in Catajo.

It is probable that Tommaso always considered his group of primitives to be quite subordinate to his "antichità" and also to his sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings. The inventory of 1806 indicates that many of the panels were hung inconspicuously in entrance rooms or halls. But there are signs of a positive interest in them. His good friend Teodoro Correr, writing from Venice in 1798, said: ". . . io ho comprato nelli di passati . . . un busto di bronzo di un patricio veneto . . . e perchè so che vi interesate di tali argomenti Vi dirò che fu fatto nel 1470 . . ."¹⁵ These two men were interested in the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as records of Italy's great past. They were moved by local and national patriotism,

8. C. von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy During the Last Two Centuries*, Chicago, 1907, p. 38; Justi, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1898, II, p. 236.

9. T. Borenius, "The Rediscovery of the Primitives," *Quarterly Review*, CCXXXIX, 1923, pp. 258 ff.

10. Cf. W. E. Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, Boston and New York, 1914, especially pp. 110, 137, 290, 310. Also Mariana Starke, *Travels in Italy between the Years 1792 and 1798*, London, 1802, pp. 248 ff.

11. A number of Tommaso's letters were in the possession of G. M. Urbani de Gheltof in Venice in 1878. Cf. Urbani de Gheltof, "Un busto di Andrea Briosco," *Bullettino di arti, industrie e curiosità veneziane*, II, 1878–79, p. 62.

12. C. A. Levi, *Le collezioni veneziane d'arte e d'antichità*, Venice, 1900, p. xciii. The letter is published here in Italian.

13. Cf. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, London, VIII, p. 1039. In 1773 Hamilton published *Schola italica picturae*, a series of plates made from his drawings of Italian paintings from Leonardo to the Carracci.

14. For English buyers resident in Venice — Hoare, Slade, Strange, Colt, Shippe — cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxix–xciii. Their purchases included a few fifteenth-century paintings. It is interesting to observe that Mantegna attracted some attention throughout the eighteenth century. Though this was largely due to the fact that he was considered the teacher of Correggio, it is noteworthy that he was the most classicistic painter of the Quattrocento.

15. Urbani de Gheltof, *loc. cit.*

as were contemporary scholars such as Da Morrona in Pisa¹⁶ and Della Valle in Siena,¹⁷ who wrote accounts of the art of their respective cities, paying special attention to the earliest period and the fourteenth century. Tommaso's interest in the artistic patrimony of Italy may have been intensified in the last years of his life, as Correr's certainly was, by the invasion of Napoleon's armies and the removal of works of art to Paris. Correr tried to salvage paintings and sculpture from the "crudeli avvenimenti nati in questa misera terra," as he wrote to Tommaso in 1798,¹⁸ and to assure their future preservation. He left his collection, which consisted mostly of Venetian art, to the city of Venice, stipulating that it should become a municipal museum. It was opened as such in 1836.¹⁹

The Obizzi collection, like that of Correr, contained many paintings produced in the Venetian region where it was formed, but a great number of the works were Florentine and Sienese. This selection of Tuscan paintings is scarcely an indication of individual artistic preference or discrimination: the second-rate quality of the entire collection would seem to prove that. It was most probably due to the authority of the Florentine critical and historical tradition, and above all to Vasari. In the inventory there appear, significantly, the names of Trecento Florentines such as Giotto, Spinello Aretino, and Jacopo del Casentino (?), but no North Italian painters of this period.

In 1794, both Obizzi and Correr began to rearrange their collections in order to make them more accessible and intelligible to visitors. Obizzi told Correr that Luigi Lanzi inspired him to do this.²⁰ At this time, in fact, other collections were reordered under the influence of the broad historical conceptions of Lanzi and Winckelmann. A few years earlier, for instance, the ideas of the latter motivated and guided the rearrangement of the great collection in the Belvedere in Vienna.²¹ Obizzi's acknowledgment of the influence of Lanzi on the installation of his collection suggests the possibility that the opinions of this historian, author of *Storia pittorica dell'Italia* (1789), might also have affected the acquisitions. Lanzi's attitude toward the artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is in many ways the usual classicistic one. They deserve consideration because their work prepared the efflorescence of the sixteenth and later centuries. But Lanzi's insights sometimes transcend this historical concept. His descriptions of Tre-

cento styles occasionally reveal an exceptional understanding. In his account of early Florentine painting, for instance, he contrasted the serenity of Giotto's style with the dramatic force of Cimabue's, and concluded that if Giotto was the Raphael of the period, Cimabue was its Michelangelo.²² Characterizations of this sort, which in fact recur in later critical literature, induced many to approach the primitives in a much more sympathetic way. Rumohr said that it was Lanzi who led German artists and writers in Rome at the end of the eighteenth century to study and enjoy fourteenth- and fifteenth-century art.²³

Lanzi's interest in pre-Raphaelite painting was by no means unique in the late eighteenth century. This period throughout Europe was marked by the beginning of a profound change in taste, one of the manifestations of which was a growing enthusiasm for the art of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, particularly Italian primitives. Already around 1750 the antiquary Gori in Florence spoke well of paintings with gold backgrounds, and Zannotti in Bologna praised their piety and simplicity,²⁴ qualities for which they continued to be valued for more than a hundred years. At this time too Ignace Hugford, born of English parents in Florence, was collecting early paintings,²⁵ and shortly afterwards Thomas Patch, another Englishman resident in Florence, published engravings of the frescoes in the Brancacci chapel and of another fresco cycle, attributed to Giotto, in the Carmine.²⁶ The new point of view appeared in Rome also. In 1778, while Lanzi was preparing the *Storia pittorica*, Seroux d'Agincourt settled in Rome with the intention of publishing a book that would do for the Middle Ages what Winckelmann's history (1764) had done for antiquity.²⁷ In order to provide his history, which was completed in 1789, with illustrations, he employed a number of draughtsmen to engrave works of art. Among these collaborators was William Young Ottley, who made the drawings of the *Life of St. Francis* in Assisi and who by 1801 had formed an important collection of Italian primitives. D'Agincourt's enthusiasm inspired a number of Frenchmen to make similar collections, especially Baron Denon, who became director of the *Musée*

16. A. Da Morrona, *Pisa illustrata nelle arti del disegno*, Pisa, 1787.

17. G. Della Valle, *Lettere sanesi*, Rome, 1782-86.

18. *Loc. cit.*

19. Cf. Urbani de Gheltof, "Teodoro Correr e il suo museo," *Bullettino di arti, industrie e curiosità veneziane*, II, 1878-79, pp. 86 ff. and Levi, *op. cit.*, p. cxvii.

20. Urbani de Gheltof, "Teodoro Correr e il suo museo," p. 90.

21. Cf. Gustav Glück, *The Picture Gallery of the Vienna Art Museum*, Vienna, 1925, p. xix.

22. *Storia pittorica dell'Italia*, ed. Milan, 1824, I, p. 55.

23. *Drey Reisen nach Italien*, Leipzig, 1832, p. 26. For a general account of the growth of interest in the primitives cf. L. Venturi, *Gusto dei primitivi*, Bologna, 1926, pp. 129 ff.

24. Rumohr, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

25. Borenus, *loc. cit.* In 1792 Gio. Lami published *Dissertazione relativa ai pittori e scultori italiani che fiorirono dal 1000 al 1300*.

26. Cf. Borenus, *loc. cit.*, and C. von Klenze, "The Growth of Interest in the Early Italian Masters," *Modern Philology*, IV, 1906-07, p. 22. Professor Walter Friedlaender kindly called this latter work to my attention.

27. The fullest account of D'Agincourt and his influence is given by M. Lamy, "La découverte des primitifs italiens au XIX^e siècle," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XXXIX, 1921, pp. 169 ff.; XL, 1921, pp. 182 ff.

Napoléon, and Artaud de Montor, who had acquired 150 early paintings by 1808. D'Agincourt influenced French artists too, chiefly through Paillot de Montabert, whom he had known in Rome. This painter, full of admiration for the primitives, and disliking even Raphael, entered the atelier of David in 1796, at the same time as Ingres — who was to speak of the Brancacci chapel as "l'antichambre du paradis."²⁸ In this atelier a group of young painters, fascinated by mediaeval and Egyptian art, banded together as "Les Primitifs." This group had a kind of German equivalent, the Nazarenes, formed in Rome at the beginning of the nineteenth century under the leadership of Overbeck. The interest of these German painters in the primitives, stimulated by the writings of Wackenroder and Friedrich Schlegel, was based to a much greater extent on moral and religious ideas. They were attracted especially by masters such as Fra Angelico, whose work had in fact been studied even earlier by Germans with similar pietistic leanings. In 1788, the scholar Hirt discovered the frescoes by this painter in the Studiolo of Nicholas V, and engravings were made of two of them; and around 1790, the painter Tischbein was in Rome looking at Quattrocento painting, especially these same frescoes in the Vatican.²⁹

To what extent Tommaso degli Obizzi was familiar with these advanced ideas it is not possible to say. The generally mediocre character of his collection does not suggest any close connection with *avant-garde* circles in Florence or Rome. Though the paintings he acquired were not so good as those of Ottley and Artaud de Montor, he was nevertheless a pioneer in the collecting of early Italian painting. How far he was ahead of the average Italian taste is indicated by the fact that even in the second quarter of the nineteenth century his Trecento panels evoked little interest among his heirs. For of the many paintings that Francesco IV brought from Catajo to augment the gallery in Modena, not one was a fourteenth-century work.³⁰

2. SIENESE PAINTINGS

None of the masters of the early Trecento can be seen at Konopiště; almost all the fourteenth-century panels were painted after 1350. This very uneven representation is probably not accidental. Many of the paintings are small tabernacles for private devotion, and works of this sort comprised a much larger proportion of the total pictorial production in the second half of the Trecento. This increase was due in part to the fact that many church altars had already received their retables in the preceding period of immense activity, both architectural and pictorial. In addition, the burghers, who had bought altarpieces for their

own chapels in the earlier part of the century, became interested in the later Trecento in paintings of an even more private character — small diptychs and triptychs for their homes and for worship during travel. These little panels, along with book illuminations and occasional murals on the walls of dwellings, constituted the first venture of a new social class in the domestic ownership of paintings. Since these tabernacles often remained in the possession of the families by which they had originally been bought, the ultimate sources of Tommaso's acquisitions were private persons as well as churches and other religious institutions.

Of the Sienese school alone there are four small tabernacles at Konopiště. One, a triptych by Niccolo di Buonaccorso (Fig. 1),³¹ represents the Madonna, two angels, the Baptist, and St. Catherine of Alexandria in the central panel, St. Anthony Abbot in the left wing and St. Christopher carrying the Christ Child in the right. Above the Madonna appears the Saviour, and in the gables of the wings the *Annunciation*. The composition of the central panel resembles in some ways Niccolo's *Madonna* in Bonn, in others his *Madonna* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.³² In the Konopiště triptych the *Annunciation* is dependent on Simone Martini, but most of the forms are, as usual in his work, derived from the Lorenzetti — angels with folded arms at the sides of the throne, Child with His finger in His mouth,³³ erect frontal posture of the Virgin, and even the design of the haloes. The fluttering drapery of St. Christopher recalls Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *St. Michael* in the Badia a Rofena.³⁴ Niccolo has given similar drapery also to the angel Gabriel, who is placed above the grim, motionless figure of Anthony; on the other hand, the yielding figure of the Virgin, quieter than the angel, appears above the active Christopher. Thus the figures in the wings appear in an interesting chiasmic relation.

A second triptych (Fig. 3), no. 21.209, is similar to Niccolo's in shape and design, including as terminal figures the Saviour, angel Gabriel, and the Virgin Annunciate. The presence of two saints in each of the wings, their close relationship with the central panel, and the way in which the figures fill the fields, subordinating to some extent the frames, indicate that the work belongs to a somewhat later phase of Sienese style. The painting is, in fact, the usual routine performance of Andrea di Bartolo in the early years of the fifteenth century. It is scarcely more inspired

31. No. 21.200. When I visited Konopiště, many of the pictures bore labels giving entry numbers and frequently their dimensions but no attributions.

32. Cf. for the Boston *Madonna*, R. van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, II, 1924, fig. 332. The *Madonna* in Bonn is no. 121.

33. Cf. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation in the Temple* in the Uffizi.

34. G. de Nicola, "Arte inedita in Siena e nel suo antico territorio," *Vita d'arte*, x, 1912, fig. 30.

28. M. Lamy, "Seroux d'Agincourt," *Revue de l'art*, XI, 1921, p. 189.

29. Von Klenze, "The Growth of Interest," p. 31.

30. Cf. A. Venturi, *op. cit.*, pp. 388 ff., 393.

than the similar small triptychs by this painter in Berlin³⁵ and Siena.³⁶ Whatever beauty it possesses it owes to the greatness of the Sienese tradition rather than to any considerable strength of the painter himself. The subject of the central panel, the *Trinity*, seems not to appear in Italian altarpieces or tabernacles until the late fourteenth century. Earlier Italian representations of it show a three-headed figure or God the Father holding the Christ Child on His knee.³⁷ Andrea's composition, God the Father seated and holding a crucifix, follows the more pathetic form created in the North in the twelfth century and used in a number of Tuscan panels from about 1360 on.³⁸ Andrea combined, furthermore, the image of the Trinity with the historical scene of the Crucifixion. The whole resembles closely the far more impressive *Trinity-Crucifixion* by Paolo di Giovanni Fei in the Minutolo Chapel of the Cathedral of Naples.³⁹ The marked superiority of Fei's work — it is his finest painting — suggests the possibility that it is the composition from which Andrea's derived.

In the many cases of resemblance between the paintings of Andrea and other Sienese masters, it is normally safe to assume that, where the dates of execution are not contradictory, Andrea is the imitator. His work is an aggregate of compositions and motives invented by other Sienese. Thus one figure in the Konopiště panel which does not appear in Fei's, the Magdalen wiping Christ's feet with her hair, was probably taken from the *Deposition* painted by his father Bartolo di Fredi in Montalcino in 1382.⁴⁰ Andrea's workshop turned out several replicas of a famous *Madonna of Humility* probably painted by Simone Martini. I have elsewhere⁴¹ called attention to four of these replicas, two of them signed by the painter. One, unsigned, has since passed into the National Gallery of Art (Fig. 4). In beauty of surface and delicacy of execution it approaches its model more closely than the others, so much so that it has been

dated fifty years too early and attributed to the circle of Simone himself.⁴²

The final two Sienese tabernacles are by anonymous minor painters of the latter part of the century. One, a triptych (Fig. 8), no. 21.198, is unusually agitated and pathetic, with an extraordinary pattern of crosses and ladders. The Descent from the Cross in the central panel, influenced by Bartolo di Fredi's Montalcino *Deposition*, is surmounted by the Man of Sorrows before a cross, and flanked by St. Andrew (?) and St. Peter, each bearing a cross. The representation of these two saints, or at least St. Peter, carrying a cross may have a significance similar to that of a group of paintings discussed in the following paragraphs. The surface of the painting has been blurred here and there by later retouching. The triptych, which combines forms current in the 'eighties with others that resemble the work of Taddeo di Bartolo, was probably made around 1390–1400.

A diptych (Fig. 5), nos. 21.210, 21.201, representing the Madonna enthroned with saints and angels and the *Crucifixion*, is somewhat earlier. The terraced saints and angels, the compact design, the tense line, the strained postures, and the sharp contrast of round enframing arch and acutely pointed throne, relate the painting to Niccolò di Buonaccorso's triptych, and indicate a date around 1380.

The Child, seated in the lap of the Virgin, holds a small cross. Despite the use of the cross in innumerable ways throughout Christian art, the representation of the Christ Child holding it in cult images of the Madonna is not very common. Its appearance in the Konopiště panel and in three other Sienese Madonnas of about the same time is unusual.⁴³ In the Konopiště *Madonna* and one by Francesco di Vannuccio in the Meermanno-Westreenianum Museum in The Hague,⁴⁴ the cross would seem at first to be a proleptic symbol, as in the representation of the Christ Child descending with the cross from heaven in the An-

35. No. 1095. Cf. G. de Nicola, "Andrea di Bartolo," *Rassegna d'arte senese*, XIV, 1921, p. 12.

36. No. 133. C. Brandi, *La R. Pinacoteca di Siena*, Rome, 1933, p. 12.

37. Cf. frescoes at Grottaferrata (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, p. 255), Pieve di Sietina (*ibid.*, v, p. 298) and S. Pietro, Perugia (*ibid.*, v, p. 46). The two latter, which I have not seen, may not be much, if at all, earlier than Andrea di Bartolo's panel. I suppose that there may be examples of Andrea's type of Trinity in unpublished Italian miniatures of an earlier date.

38. For instance, Jacopo di Cione, National Gallery, London; follower of the Cioni, Academy, Florence (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 290); follower of Jacopo di Cione, Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University (O. Sirén, *Catalogue of the Jarves Collection*, New Haven, 1916, p. 45 and pl.).

39. Cf. F. M. Perkins, "Pitture senesi poco conosciute," *La Diana*, VI, 1931, p. 199, pl. 18.

40. Cf. *idem*, "La pittura alla mostra d'arte di Montalcino," *Rassegna d'arte senese*, XVIII, 1925, p. 58.

41. "The Madonna of Humility," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 437.

42. *The National Gallery of Art, Preliminary Catalogue*, Washington, 1941, pp. 133–134. The panel was formerly in the Kress Collection.

43. Among earlier examples there are, for instance, a Ducciesque *Madonna*, whereabouts unknown, of which Mrs. Dorothy Shorr has kindly given me a description; a mosaic dated 1322 in S. Restituta, Naples (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, v, fig. 198), in which however Christ rests His hand on a very large cross which is held by the Virgin.

In a painting attributed to Roger van der Weyden in the Metropolitan Museum (Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, II, 1924, pl. 35), the Christ Child embraces a large cross which is held by a soaring angel. Friedländer, *ibid.*, II, p. 104, refers to two copies of this motif: Philadelphia Museum (Johnson Collection no. 321) and Traumann Collection, Madrid. In a panel by Lorenzo di Niccolò (Münster, no. 345) and in a fifteenth-century panel in the Museum of Naples (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, VIII, fig. 198), the Child holds a small cross as in the Konopiště panel.

44. Cf. Richard Offner, "The Works and Style of Francesco di Vannuccio," *Art in America*, XX, 1932, fig. 5.



FIG. 1. Konopiště, Castle: Niccolo di Buonaccorso, Triptych



FIG. 2. Siena, Gallery: Luca di Tommé, Madonna



FIG. 3. Konopiště, Castle: Andrea di Bartolo, Triptych



FIG. 4. Washington, National Gallery of Art: Andrea di Bartolo, Madonna of Humility



FIG. 5. Konopiště, Castle: Master of the Pietà, Diptych



FIG. 6. Cracow, Czartoryski Museum: Master of the Pietà, Crucifixion



FIG. 7. Parma, Gallery: Giovanni di Paolo, Christ and Saints

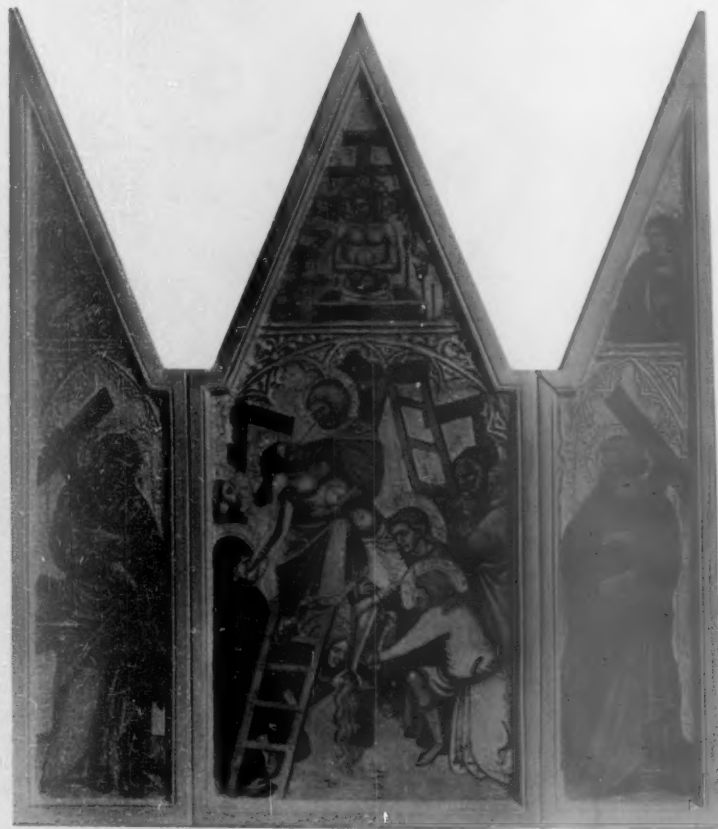


FIG. 8. Konopiště, Castle: Siennese, *ca.* 1400, Triptych



FIG. 9. Lecceto, Convento: Siennese, Early Fifteenth-Century Fresco

nunciation,⁴⁵ and related also to the bunch of grapes or sheaves of wheat that are sometimes held by the Infant in paintings of the Madonna. But two of the Sienese paintings to which we have referred disclose that the motive has another — or at least an additional — meaning. In two *Madonnas* by Luca di Tommé, each part of a polyptych, one in the Siena Gallery (Fig. 2), the other in the Pinacoteca at Rieti (dated 1370),⁴⁶ a scroll, held by the Virgin or the Child, contains the following inscription: QUI VULT VENIRE POST ME ADNEGET SEMETISU(M) TOLLAT CRUCE(M) SUA(M) ET SEQUAT.⁴⁷ This is from Matthew 16:24, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." Christ speaks similarly in several other places in the gospels: Matthew 10:38; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23, and 14:27. The cross has thus a specific didactic or hortatory significance, enjoining the religious life and the imitation of Christ. Whether or not its use in Siena at this time was motivated by some religious leader or cult, I do not know.⁴⁸ There was an order of cross-bearers or "Crociferi"⁴⁹ in Italy at this time, but I can discover no connection between this group and the paintings. The representation of Christ exhorting His audience in this way may be related to the trend toward a more strenuous and orthodox form of religion which was bound up with the plague, the social struggles of the time, and the teaching of St. Catherine.

The response to Christ's exhortation is even represented literally in Sienese painting. In the grisaille frescoes at Lecceto there appears, among scenes illustrating the true Christian life, a representation of Christ holding a cross and a long scroll (with no visible inscription). He addresses a multitude of men, each of whom bears a cross as he trudges along a path winding into the mountains, which signify as usual asceticism and the difficult way of life (Fig. 9).⁵⁰ A variation of this scene may be found in a predella panel by Giovanni di Paolo in the Pinacoteca at Parma (Fig. 7). This painting, the subject of which has hitherto seemed unique, shows Christ in a forest of crosses. He holds one

Himself, and He is surrounded by apostles and saints, all of them, like the Saviour on the way to Calvary, bearing crosses.⁵¹ The inscription on Christ's scroll, QUI NON BAIULAT CRUCEM SUAM ET SEQUITUR ME NON EST ME DIGNUS, drawn from Matthew 10:38 and Luke 14:27, is similar to the one on Luca di Tommé's *Madonnas*. There are, furthermore, in the art of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of representations of people of all classes of mankind carrying crosses.⁵² The choice of this subject at the time of the Counter-Reformation would seem to support the relationship suggested above of the Christ Child holding the cross with a moment of greater orthodoxy and intensified ecclesiastical activity.

The painter of the Konopiště diptych is the author of a number of works which have hitherto been attributed to a variety of Sienese masters, ranging from Ambrogio Lorenzetti to Taddeo di Bartolo. Two panels, a *Madonna* whose whereabouts I do not know,⁵³ and a *Crucifixion* formerly in the Kaulbach Collection (Fig. 12)⁵⁴ originally composed a diptych similar in its subject and design to the one in Konopiště, and evidently by the same painter. Another of his works, a triptych in the Siena Gallery, No. 156 (Fig. 10), has in the central panel a *Marriage of Catherine* which resembles closely the *Madonnas* in the diptychs, and a *Crucifixion* in the right wing which repeats with little variation that in the Kaulbach panel (Fig. 12). The left wing is divided in an unusual way between the *Agony in the Garden* and the *Flagellation* (in which the figure of Christ has been repainted). The Siena triptych has been placed in the circle of Paolo di Giovanni Fei⁵⁵ and, more correctly by Brandi, in the following of Luca di Tommé.⁵⁶ Brandi attributed to the same master a *Madonna* in the Pieve at Staggia which, though related, is an inferior work, and a triptych in the Gallery at Perugia (Fig. 13) which is actu-

45. Cf. D. M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 523.

46. Cf. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 306.

47. This is the inscription on the panel in Siena. Only a part of it appears in the panel at Rieti.

48. The origin of only two of the four Sienese *Madonnas* can be ascertained. Luca's *Madonna* in the Siena Gallery is Franciscan, and his *Madonna* at Rieti is Dominican.

49. For this religious order cf. *Enciclopedia italiana*, Milan, XII, 1931, p. 19, s.v. *Crociferi*.

50. This fresco is on the left side of the entrance wall of the portico. For the Lecceto cycle cf. W. Heywood, *The "Ensembles" of Fra Filippo da Siena*, Siena, 1901, p. 170, and Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 430. The date usually given for this cycle, 1343, seems to me much too early. Nor are all the paintings in one style. One of the painters is the author of a *Crucifixion*, whereabouts unknown, which copies Luca di Tommé's *Crucifixion* in the Vatican.

51. The panel was published by C. Weigelt in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, III, 1919-32, p. 445. Cf. also Perkins, "Pitture senesi poco conosciute," p. 200.

There is a painting of the same subject by Vasari in the monastery of Monte Oliveto in Naples. In the *Vite* (Milanesi ed., VII, p. 676) he describes it as follows: "... nella volta della foresteria . . . condussi a fresco, di figure grandi quanto il vivo, Gesù Cristo che ha la croce in ispalla; ed, a imitazione di lui, molti de'suoi Santi che l'hanno similmente addosso, per dimostrare che, a chi vuole veramente seguitar lui, bisogna portare e con buona pazienza, l'avversità che dà il mondo."

52. B. Knipping, *De Iconografie van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum, 1939, I, p. 128.

53. The panel measures 56 × 25 cm. Professor Richard Offner kindly called this painting to my attention.

54. 57 × 25 cm. Cf. *Versteigerungs-Katalog, Sammlung Fritz August von Kaulbach*, Munich, Hugo Helbing, Oct. 29-30, 1929, no. 154 (as school of Siena about 1350).

55. B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 184 as Fei (?); Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 537 and fig. 344, as school of Fei.

56. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

ally by the rare painter Giacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio.⁵⁷

Another triptych in the Gallery at Siena,⁵⁸ heavily repainted except for part of the figure of the angel Gabriel and therefore difficult to judge with certainty, seems likewise to be a work of the master of the Konopiště diptych. A third *Crucifixion* by the painter, similar to those in Konopiště (Fig. 5) and formerly in the Kaulbach Collection (Fig. 12), is in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow (Fig. 6).⁵⁹ The shape of the panel and the design of the cusps indicate that it was not, like the other paintings, a leaf of a diptych or a triptych, but a part of a larger altarpiece, perhaps a pinnacle. The Magdalen, who in the Kaulbach *Crucifixion* embraces the cross, is prevented from doing so in this panel, despite her desperate appeal, by an adamant soldier planted firmly at its base. These two figures in the Cracow *Crucifixion* recall a similar dramatic group in many earlier Siennese representations of the Way to Calvary where a soldier rebuffs the attempt of the Virgin to embrace Christ.

Recent discussion of the origin and early history in Italy of the image of the Virgin lamenting her dead Son⁶⁰ has been based on four fourteenth-century examples: the central panel of an altarpiece dated 1377 in the Museo Civico of Pisa, by the Pisan painter Cecco di Pietro (Fig. 18); a fragmentary and badly damaged fresco by a Neapolitan painter of the late Trecento in S. Chiara, Naples;⁶¹ a beautiful small panel by Giovanni da Milano in the Martin le Roy Collection, Paris,⁶² and a panel in the Museum at Trapani (Fig. 16), recently published and called Tuscan by Koerte,⁶³ though actually, I believe, South Italian and probably Neapolitan. In view of the rarity of the subject in the Italian Trecento, it is striking that among the extant works of the painter of the Konopiště diptych there are two examples: an unpublished panel in the David Museum,

Angers (Fig. 14)⁶⁴ and one of two wings of a triptych in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig. 15).⁶⁵ These are the first Siennese paintings of the Pietà (or *Vesperbild*) which we know, and I shall therefore call the anonymous painter of these two panels and of the other works here attributed to him, the Master of the Pietà.

The two paintings bear all the marks of common authorship; touch, rhythm, luminosity, and other stylistic qualities are similar. In both works the hair of the Virgin falls loosely from her mantle as a sign of emotional distress. But the composition of the Pietà in Detroit differs considerably from that in Angers, and the paintings represent, in fact, two variant tendencies in the early history of this image, produced by connections with different subjects. The figures in the Detroit panel resemble the group of the Virgin with the dead Christ lying across her lap that appears in Italian paintings of the Lamentation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶⁶ Though the Pietà in Naples and the one by Cecco di Pietro (Fig. 18) also recall the Lamentation, the Detroit composition is closest to it, for, beyond the horizontal posture of Christ, it has a landscape, a cross rising behind the Virgin, and, alone among the Italian paintings of the Pietà, a white cloth under the limp figure of the dead Saviour. Like other devotional pictures, the Pietà, or rather the type of Pietà seen in Detroit, was created by isolating the chief figures of an historical scene. There is in fact an unpublished Florentine panel in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam (Fig. 27),⁶⁷ which actually demonstrates the simplicity of creating a Pietà in this fashion. This painting, which seems at first glance to be a Pietà, similar to the early fifteenth-century German type,⁶⁸ is probably only a fragment of a *Lamenta-*

57. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 481 and fig. 314, as manner of Luca di Tommé.

58. No. 292. Cf. Brandi, *op. cit.*, p. 197 (as a late imitator of Simone Martini), and Anderson photo 21210.

59. No. 318. Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 551, as an early work of Taddeo di Bartolo (?). Mary Logan Berenson, "Dipinti italiani a Cracovia," *Rassegna d'arte*, II, 1915, p. 4, as Taddeo di Bartolo.

60. Georg Swarzenski, "Italienische Quellen der deutschen Pietà," in *Festschrift Wölfflin*, Munich, 1924, pp. 127 ff.; H. Kauffmann, *Donatello*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 183-184; W. Koerte, "Deutsche Vesperbilder in Italien," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, I, 1937, pp. 8-18; G. de Francovich, "L'origine e la diffusione del crocifisso gotico doloroso," *ibidem*, II, 1938, pp. 252 ff.

61. Published as Giottoesque but under Siennese influence by Georg Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, fig. 5. Swarzenski mentions another example, Pinacoteca, Volterra, No. 18, but of this I have been unable to find either a reproduction or a precise description.

62. Correctly attributed to Giovanni da Milano by Sirén, "Addenda und Errata zu meinem Giottino-Buch," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, I, 1908, p. 1122 and by Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 244, though still given to Lippo Memmi, with question, by Koerte, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and by H. Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

63. *Op. cit.*, fig. 2.

64. No. 337. 48 X 30 cm. Cf. M. Valotaire, *Musée d'Angers*, Angers, 1920, p. 21, as "école de Giotto"; M. H. Jouin, *Musées d'Angers*, Paris, 1885, p. 59; Perdrizet et Jean, *La galerie Campana*, Bordeaux, 1907, p. 18, no. 89.

65. Formerly in the collection of Mrs. Julius H. Haas, Detroit. The surface of the painting is somewhat damaged. Cf. Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 528, as an unknown Siennese painter close to A. Vanni; *Detroit Institute of Arts, Sixteenth Loan Exhibition of Old Masters*, 1933, no. 45 ("given by Borenius to 'Ugolino Lorenzetti'"); P. T. Rathbone, "Two Wings of a Siennese Triptych of the Trecento," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XIV, 1935, p. 104, as school of the Lorenzetti. The panel of the Pietà seems to be the painting to which Vavalà, *Croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929, p. 308, refers as close to Barna, and Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 254, note 632, as Barna.

66. For a fifteenth-century Lamentation of this type cf. Fig. 24. On the relation of the Lamentation to the Pietà cf. G. Swarzenski, *op. cit.*

67. No. 445. Cf. *Catalogus der Schilderijen, teekeningen, en beelhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1921, p. 104, where the panel is described as "perhaps a fragment of a predella." Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 82, as a work of the North Italian painter Giovanni da Bologna.

68. To the observations of W. Koerte (*op. cit.*) on the early fifteenth-century German *Vesperbilder* in Italy, may be added the fact that one of these sculptures was copied in a fresco in S. Martino,



FIG. 10. Siena, Gallery: Master of the Pietà, Triptych



FIG. 11. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Master of the Pietà, Nativity



FIG. 12. Master of the Pietà: Diptych; Madonna, Whereabouts Unknown; Crucifixion, Formerly in the Kaulbach Collection, Munich



FIG. 13. Perugia, Gallery: Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, Triptych



FIG. 14. Angers, David Museum: Master of the Pietà, Pietà

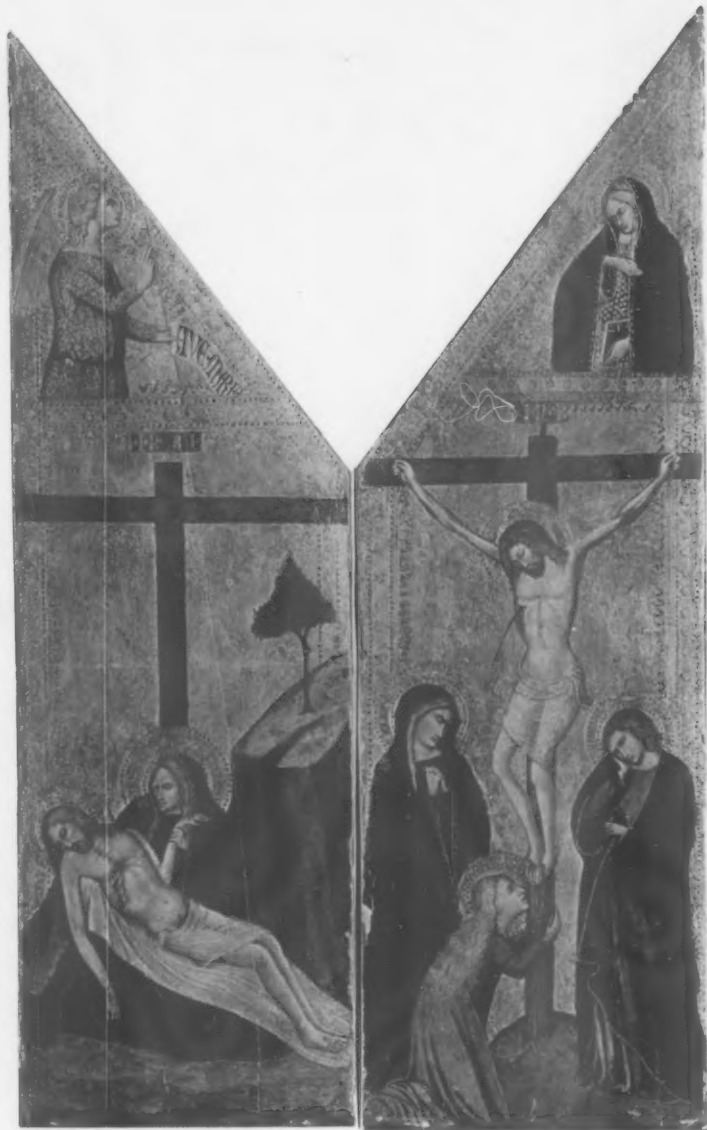


FIG. 15. Detroit, Institute of Arts: Master of the Pietà, Pietà and Crucifixion



FIG. 16. Trapani, Museum: Neapolitan, ca. 1360, Pietà



FIG. 17. Naples, Museum: Workshop of Taddeo Gaddi, Lamentation



FIG. 18. Pisa, Museo Civico: Cecco di Pietro, Pietà

tion, Florentine and around 1400, which was at some later time pruned down to the central figures.

In the *Pietà* at Angers (Fig. 14), on the other hand, Christ is seated in the lap of the Virgin. Like a Madonna with the Child, she presses her cheek against His.⁶⁹ The resemblance with the composition of the Madonna⁷⁰ is increased by the upright position of His torso and by the fact that His figure, with very short legs, is almost entirely contained within her outline. Insofar as the Virgin in the Angers and other Italian *Pietà*s is seated on the ground and bends over Christ, the group resembles the Madonna of Humility (Fig. 4) rather than the Madonna enthroned. The *Pietà* has, too, similar qualities of informality, intimacy, and of very personal emotion, and it is not surprising that many of the examples of it as of the Madonna of Humility are quite small, falling into that class of works for private ownership which was discussed above. The Madonna of Humility and the *Pietà* are, as I have remarked on another occasion,⁷¹ complementary or polar themes, since they represent Christ in the lap of the Virgin at the beginning and the end of His life on earth. It appears now that there is also a close *formal* relationship between Italian paintings of the two types, and that they may have been products of the same historical moment.

The few known Trecento paintings of the *Pietà* differ to some extent from one another. The figures in two of them (Angers, Trapani) resemble the Madonna of Humility, though the setting with the cross, landscape, or sarcophagus recalls the Lamentation. The posture of Christ in two panels (Detroit, Pisa) seems closer to the Lamentation, but in the painting in Pisa there is neither landscape nor cross. In Giovanni da Milano's panel Christ is seated in the lap of the Virgin, but the Virgin, overcome with emotion, faints away as she does in the Crucifixion.⁷² The por-

trayal of this emotional extremity, unique among the Italian *Pietà*s, may be connected with the North Italian origins of the painter.

Beyond these differences there are similarities which may be significant. In all the paintings the Virgin, unlike the Virgin in the German *Vesperbild*, is seated on the ground. She holds Christ in the same way in the Angers, Pisa, Trapani panels: one hand behind His head, the other reaching across His body and grasping His hip or midriff. It would be difficult to believe that similarities of this kind, appearing in the work of minor painters who are not very inventive, are accidental, just as it is unlikely that this new image should have appeared simultaneously and independently in Pisa, Naples, and Siena. The painting in Trapani (Fig. 16) shows the influence of Simone Martini; the curling borders of the Madonna's mantle, the shape of the panel, the soaring angels at the sides, all resemble the *Madonna of Humility* in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples, painted by a Neapolitan follower of Simone around 1350.⁷³ Cecco's painting in Pisa (Fig. 18) likewise owes something to Simone, and the panel in Angers (Fig. 14) shows a striking approximation to his style, unparalleled in any other of the painter's works. The fluent, wavy line of the gilt-edged border of the Madonna's mantle, the delicate limbs and spidery fingers of Christ (though certainly not the proportions of His figure, with abnormally short lower limbs) must have been inspired by Simone, and small roundels with figures of prophets appear in the Uffizi *Annunciation*, the S. Agostino triptych, the Orvieto *Madonna*, and other paintings by Simone or his followers. On the other hand, the triangulation of the group of the Virgin and Christ and the resilient volume of the Virgin recall

Piove di Sacco (Veneto), made by a local painter around 1415, and there are doubtless other similar copies.

69. Cf. especially Madonnas of Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Siena Gallery and at Massa Marittima. The Virgin lays her cheek against Christ's in representations of the Lamentation also.

70. On the relation of the German *Vesperbild* with the Madonna cf. E. Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," in *Festschrift für Max Friedländer*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 266, and in "Reintegration of a Book of Hours," *Medieval Studies in Memory of Arthur Kingsley Porter*, Cambridge, 1939, II, pp. 490-491.

71. "The Madonna of Humility," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 453.

72. Giovanni da Milano's panel proves again that Italian paintings of the *Pietà* were influenced by several historical compositions, some paintings more by one, others by another. We have already referred to the Lamentation and, among devotional pictures, to the Madonna of Humility (though we cannot be certain that this type was created before the *Pietà*). G. de Francovich, *op. cit.*, p. 253, points to the relationship between the posture of Christ in Giovanni da Milano's panel and in certain paintings of the Deposition — for instance, the earliest cross in the Academy, Florence (though since Christ is not seated in this and similar compositions of the Deposition, the relationship does not seem crucial to the genesis of the

Pietà as Francovich claims). H. Swarzenski ("Quellen zum deutschen Andachtsbild," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, IV, 1935, pp. 142-143) refers also to the Entombment and especially to the mourning mothers of the Massacre of the Innocents. At least one later *Pietà* is definitely derived from the latter (cf. the *Pietà* in the Rohan Hours with a mother lamenting her dead child in the *Bible Moralisée*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 9561, f. 138 — Panofsky, in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Arthur Kingsley Porter*, p. 491, note 42, and figs. 16 and 18, has referred to my observation of this relationship).

The Siene representation of the Virgin under the cross swooning in the lap of one of the Maries should likewise be brought into relation with the Trecento paintings of the *Pietà* (see especially the group in the *Crucifixion* by Simone Martini in the Museum at Antwerp).

Koerte (*op. cit.*) classifies as the "Entombment type" of *Pietà* a painting in Bologna which shows Christ in the tomb embraced by the Virgin. This composition is very similar to the unusual group of the Virgin and Christ in Taddeo Gaddi's *Entombment* at Yale. It lacks the distinguishing character of the *Pietà* or *Vesperbild* since Christ is not in the lap of the Virgin, and it actually resembles more closely the Man of Sorrows.

73. Cf. Meiss, *op. cit.*, p. 438 and fig. 5. The frescoed *Pietà* in S. Chiara, Naples, likewise shows Siene influence (cf. the outline of the Virgin), though it has the mixed character of most Neapolitan works.

Ambrogio Lorenzetti. These extraordinary similarities with the great styles of the first half of the Trecento are due in part to the relatively early date of the Angers panel among the works of the Master of the Pietà, but they also suggest, together with the Simonesque character of the Pisa and Trapani panels and of Giovanni da Milano's *Pietà*, which has even been attributed to Lippo Memmi, the probability of the existence of the Pietà in Siena in the second quarter of the Trecento.⁷⁴ Painted at that time by Simone Martini and perhaps Ambrogio Lorenzetti, the Pietà would have appeared around the same time and in the same artistic circles as the closely related Madonna of Humility. The second quarter of the century was a period favorable in many ways to its creation,⁷⁵ and though no Siennese Pietà of this period seems to have been preserved, a Florentine panel of 1336 (Fig. 17)⁷⁶ shows that the theme was in the air at that time. Christ is seated in the lap of the Virgin — perhaps we should say on her legs — and the representation differs from the normal, fully developed Pietà only in the presence of two mourners. This panel also shows us how the Giottesque conception of the group, with both figures erect and relatively detached from each other, differs from the Siennese, and therefore confirms our hypothesis of the Siennese origin of the extant Italian paintings of the Pietà.

What connection there may have been — if, indeed there was any — between the Italian Trecento paintings of the Pietà and the early German *Vesperbilder*⁷⁷ is still difficult to determine. Arguments have been presented for an influence of the German sculptures on the Italian paintings⁷⁸ and for the opposite,⁷⁹ though some of the German works are earlier than the Italian, even including our hypothetical Siennese originals of around 1325–35. It is evident, however, that the two groups are very different in character. Christ in the Italian paintings is quiet and still possesses a certain vital force. His body and head do not fall back

into the drastic position of the German figures. The Virgin supports His head or His neck in all the Italian paintings except the one in Detroit, and there she holds Him beneath the arm, while His head falls gently onto His shoulder.

In both the Italian and German images the Virgin is moved by two emotions, love and sorrow. The German works emphasize her sorrow, the Italian her love. The German sculptures seem to represent a final separation of mother and Son; the Virgin is distraught by Christ's human pain and death.⁸⁰ This sense of separation and loss is transcended in the Italian paintings by the Virgin's surpassing love and, it seems, by an awareness of her Son's mission as God. Similarly the suffering of Christ throughout the Passion in Italian art is mitigated by a constant sense of the orderly and necessary progress of the drama of sacrifice and redemption, and by the warmth of human feeling evoked among those who participate in these sad events. These works show a wonderful balance between pain and love, between Christ's lonely fulfillment of His purpose and the steady affection and understanding of the relatives and followers who surround Him. To attain an equilibrium of this sort, the growth around 1300 of the human character of Christ and of His capacity to suffer was accompanied by the development of affectionate actions such as the Virgin reaching for Christ on the Way to Calvary or embracing Him in the Deposition and Lamentation. At the same time the Magdalen was introduced into the Crucifixion, clinging passionately to the foot of the cross.⁸¹

80. G. de Francovich, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–261, refers to this aspect of the *Vesperbilder* when comparing them with the Italian Pietà. He attempts to account for the comparative rarity of the Pietà in Italy by limiting the artists of the Trecento to two alternative ways of composing it, both of which they found unsatisfactory: one, the representation of Christ and the Virgin with adjacent heads, as in the Lamentation, which he claims was deemed unsuitable for an isolated group such as the Pietà for formal reasons that he does not specify. This very juxtaposition, however, appears not only in the Angers, Pisa, and Trapani panels, but in many Madonnas, which are likewise "isolated groups," though in them Christ is, of course, an infant. Since the Italian painters according to Francovich rejected this representation, they were faced with the alternative of showing the figures more detached or separated from each other and thus isolating the suffering of Christ. This isolation of grief would be equally objectionable, he says, because the Italian conception of grief is "choral." This is a very suggestive idea but one which Francovich employs too rigidly. It was, after all, in early fourteenth-century Italy that the Man of Sorrows was first widely represented. This image, which is very similar to the Pietà, usually shows Christ alone or accompanied only by the Virgin and St. John. Francovich, furthermore, contrasts the devotional images of Germany and Italy in terms of their respective "isolated" or group character. It is notable that he does not include among his examples of Italian devotional images the Man of Sorrows or the Madonna of Humility, each of which shows only two or three figures. These are the two most common types and they would not support his contention. There are also two extant examples of a seemingly unique Italian type which shows Christ, alone, carrying the cross (cf. Barna, Frick Collection, New York, and Andrea Vanni, Städel Institut, Frankfurt).

81. It was not Giotto who first placed the Magdalen at the foot

74. Kauffmann, *loc. cit.*, has already inferred the appearance of the Italian Pietà in the circle of Simone Martini chiefly from the attribution of Giovanni da Milano's panel to that circle.

75. Many of the artistic, religious, and social factors to which I have referred in connection with the origin of the Madonna of Humility (*op. cit.*, pp. 452–460) were also involved in the creation of the Pietà.

76. This *Lamentation* is the right wing of a triptych. Cf. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 183.

77. For the *Vesperbild* cf. W. Passarge, *Das deutsche Vesperbild im Mittelalter*, Cologne, 1924.

78. Kauffmann, *loc. cit.*

79. G. Swarzenski, *op. cit.* G. de Francovich, *op. cit.*, p. 254, argues for an influence of the Italian Dugento compositions of the Deposition and Lamentation on the *Vesperbilder*.

It is generally agreed that the group of the Virgin and Christ in the early fifteenth-century *Vesperbild* in the Landesmuseum, Münster (Koerte, *op. cit.*, fig. 8) was influenced by an Italian painting similar to Cecco di Pietro's in Pisa. Further proof of this influence may be found in the fact that this sculpture is the first German *Vesperbild* in which the Madonna is seated on the ground (a low mound) rather than on a throne or bench.

To return to the Master of the Pietà, a *Nativity* in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 11)⁸² is similar in style to the panel in Angers, and gives us a second work from the earlier part of his career. It too is retrospective, looking back to the great period of Sienese painting. But unlike the Angers panel, with its mixture of Lorenzettian and Simonese forms, the Berlin *Nativity* is of almost pure Lorenzettian derivation. Both the figures and the setting of the small *Annunciation* in the trefle follow Pietro Lorenzetti's *Annunciation* in the altarpiece of 1320 in the Cathedral at Arezzo. The *Nativity*, however, is dependent on the style of Ambrogio. The fine, sure flight of the angel, moving oblique to the picture plane and skilfully foreshortened, the expansive, undulating volume of the Virgin, defined by the curving lines of her mantle, show that the painter understood some of the subtleties of Ambrogio's art. The composition too, with the Virgin and Joseph seated at either side of Christ, Who lies in a wattled crib behind which are the animals and above a circle of angels, the two shepherds kneeling at the right, and the *Annunciation* to the shepherds on a hillside behind the cave, is based upon a lost Sienese *Nativity*, painted by Ambrogio or Pietro Lorenzetti. Reflections of this work may be seen in many Sienese *Nativities* of the fourteenth century, especially the incomplete altarpiece in the Fogg Museum by "Ugolino Lorenzetti" (Bartolommeo Bulgarini?),⁸³ the entire original composition of which is preserved in a textile formerly in the Iklé Collection, St. Gall.⁸⁴ With respect, however, to the posture of the kneeling shepherds the Berlin panel is closer to two other *Nativities* of this group, by the workshop of Bartolo di Fredi, in the Cloisters of the Metropolitan Museum⁸⁵ and SS. Flora and Lucilla, Torrita.⁸⁶

The largest work connected with the Master of the

of the cross, as is generally believed. She appears there already in the late Dugento. Cf. a *Crucifixion* by a follower of Guido da Siena in the Jarves Collection, Yale University (R. Offner, *Italian Primitives at Yale*, New Haven, 1927, fig. 10).

82. No. 1094A. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser Friedrich Museum*, Berlin, 1921, p. 253, as Ambrogio Lorenzetti; *Die Gemäldesammlung (Italienische Meister)*, Berlin, 1930, p. 79, as Ambrogio; P. Hendy in *Burlington Magazine*, LV, 1929, p. 232, as "Ugolino Lorenzetti"; Berenson, *Studies in Medieval Painting*, New Haven, 1930, p. 58 and fig. 49, as Lippo Vanni.

83. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 71.

84. Cf. Betty Kurth, "Florentiner Trecento-Stichereien," *Pantheon*, VIII, 1931, p. 461 and fig. 8. The author observes the relationship with the Fogg panel, but, failing to recognize that the latter is incomplete, she claims an earlier date for the textile and a dependence of the two works on a lost original.

85. Cf. H. Wehle, *Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings*, New York, 1940, p. 79. A copy by a follower of Fredi is in the museum at Béziers.

86. Cf. F. M. Perkins, "Ancora dei dipinti sconosciuti della scuola senese," *Rassegna d'arte senese*, III, 1907, p. 75. This panel has been cut down along the sides. Other *Nativities* dependent in various ways on the Lorenzettian composition are: workshop of Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Altenburg; fresco, close to Bartolo di Fredi

Pietà is a triptych, some five feet high, in the Museum at Pienza (Figs. 19-21).⁸⁷ Its form and content are unusual in Siena, and indeed in all of Tuscany in the late fourteenth century. Across the surfaces of the three panels, as on the introductory pages of a twelfth-century psalter, is spread the life of Christ from the *Annunciation* to the *Ascension*. The story is told in a series of forty-eight small scenes. This way of disposing a large historical cycle is anticipated by Tuscan altarpieces of the thirteenth century in which several scenes of the life of Christ, the Virgin, or a saint appear at the sides of the central cult image. In Duccio's *Maestà*, and a slightly later work dependent on it in the Cathedral of Massa Marittima,⁸⁸ the cycle is extended, and occupies the entire field of the altarpiece, though in both instances the reverse face. In later Trecento altarpieces, however, historical scenes tend to be relegated to the predella or eliminated altogether. The Dugento type showing a saint with scenes from his life does persist, but it is no longer quite so common. The reduced importance of historical scenes in Trecento altarpieces is the result of several factors. The growing cult of the saints multiplied the images of them in the altarpiece and crowded histories from the main fields. At the same time mural painting in fresco was selected as the normal mode for scenes from the life of Christ, the Virgin or the saints. In the fourteenth century the wall largely replaced the retable as the carrier of histories.⁸⁹ Duccio's *Maestà* may thus be regarded as a transitional work, painted at a time of great interest in monumental historical cycles, but before the practice of mural painting, already taken up by the Florentines Cimabue and Giotto, had become established in Siena.

The Pienza triptych is thus an outmoded type, produced perhaps for a provincial taste. It may have been made for a client who wished to have a painting of the life of Christ and whose resources were too limited for fresco, or who simply wanted something like the reverse of Duccio's *Maestà*. In any event, that is what he got, for the ensemble as well as many of the scenes are imitations of that work.⁹⁰

and deeply permeated by the style of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, in S. Michele, Paganico; panel by a follower of Ambrogio in the Städel Institut, Frankfurt, which shows a fenced-in sheepfold similar to the one in the *Nativity* in Berlin; Ferrer Bassa, Pedralbes. I have referred to this group of paintings in "Italian Style in Catalonia," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, p. 55.

87. C. G. B. Mannucci, *Rassegna d'arte senese*, IV, 1908, p. 65, attributed it to Bartolo di Fredi; *idem*, *Pienza*, Pienza, 1927, p. 84. The altarpiece was deposited in the Pienza Museum in 1906 by the Spedaletto, Val d'Orcia. Cf. also F. Brogi, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della Prov. di Siena*, Siena, 1897, p. 405.

88. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, p. 130 and fig. 88.

89. I have discussed this question in "A Dugento Altarpiece at Antwerp," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXI, 1937, p. 17. Beyond the examples cited above, there are a number of Trecento altarpieces which contain extended cycles of historical scenes. Significantly, they were mostly made at the beginning of the century, or outside the great centers of fresco painting.

90. Similar to the corresponding scenes in Duccio's *Maestà* are

The execution of the painting, judged by urban Sienese standards, is crude. The triptych was painted rapidly, and layers of color were not always superimposed in the usual way. The brush stroke is visible in many places, in the wavering lines which mark the panelling of interior walls, the outlines of figures, or the grasses and plants in the landscapes. But many of these strokes are similar to those which appear in panels by the Master of the Pietà. Compare, for instance, the vegetation in the *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 20) with that in the painting of the same subject in the Siena triptych (Fig. 10). These two paintings of the *Agony* are alike in composition, and similarly the *Crucifixion* in the Pienza triptych (Fig. 21) resembles in various ways the three other paintings of this scene by the Pietà Master (Figs. 5, 6, 12). There are, however, differences such as the less refined surface and the squatter proportions of the figures, which show that the Pienza triptych was executed by another painter. Inasmuch as the style of this painter depends upon that of the Pietà Master, and he imitated his compositions so closely, it is probable that he was in the workshop when he painted the triptych, or had been there shortly before.

The work of the Master of the Pietà falls into the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The earlier paintings (Angers, Berlin) are full of memories of the Lorenzetti and of Simone Martini. The later works owe something to Lippo Vanni and especially to Luca di Tommé (Fig. 2), whose influence on our painter's *Madonnas* (Figs. 5, 10, 12) was certainly not limited to the iconographic motive that we have already discussed. These later paintings by the Pietà Master exemplify too, in their modest way, the tendency of Sienese (indeed all Tuscan) painting from around 1350 on to abandon the tridimensional composition, perspective, and free-moving figures of the preceding period. The compositions become more compact, the forms are consolidated; the figures, with a reduced capacity for free rotation, tend to be confined to one plane and are enmeshed in a tight line which further limits their power of movement. Postures are strained: the head of the Madonna, for instance (Figs. 5, 10, 12), is abruptly tilted on top of a vertical, columnar neck. This linear and formal tension is accompanied by darker, more contrasting colors, and an aloof, troubled, grimly ascetic or fiery emotional expression. These qualities of later Trecento art express a state of mind that was influenced by several contemporary events: the economic crisis beginning in the 'forties, the Black Death of 1348, and the shift of power from the

merchants and bankers to the lesser guilds and the lower middle class, bearers of a more conservative culture.

The Sienese Quattrocento is represented in Konopiště by a single panel of *St. John the Baptist*, which once stood in a polyptych to the right of a *Madonna* (Fig. 34). The painting is enclosed by a modern imitation of a Venetian Quattrocento frame, containing among other unsuitable forms an ugly low arch which conflicts with the outline of the figure. The background of the panel has been regilded, destroying the upper part of the cross and blunting the rhythmic edges of the figure and the locks of hair. The painted surface has been damaged to some extent by abrasion and repainting, and the restorer, thinking to enhance the unkempt eremitic appearance of the saint, has given him long, unmanicured finger- and toenails⁹¹ which are quite inappropriate to this gentle image of the Baptist. The panel hangs in a badly lighted place in the chapel of the castle, and the difficulty of seeing it there, together with the poor quality of my photograph, necessitates some reserve in attribution. This much is certain — it was made in the circle of Sassetta. The close relation with this painter is shown by the figure and by the visible section of the landscape, with pale, thin mountains reminiscent, especially in silhouette, of those in Sassetta's panel of the *Marriage of St. Francis to Poverty* in Chantilly, part of an altarpiece painted between 1437 and 1444.

The saint stands on a kind of plateau, towering high above the distant valley and mountains. This is a form of composition that was developed in the second quarter of the Quattrocento, especially in Tuscany, becoming by the middle of the century one of the most common ways of disposing the figures.⁹² It achieved a combination of figure and landscape that maintained and even increased the importance and dominance of the figure. At the same time, it met the contemporary interest in large stretches of landscape containing a variety of natural forms, mountains, valleys, wooded and cultivated land, and rivers. As in the early fourteenth century, at the beginning of the representation of tri-dimensional space, an interior was always complete and entire, so in the fifteenth century, when the possibilities of representing the exterior world were extended through the use of linear and aerial perspective, landscapes showed, not of course the whole of the world, but a section of it with various typical forms that gave it a universal character. This universal or global conception of space may also be manifest in the landscapes by Sassetta and other Sienese painters of the Quattrocento which have a curved horizon.

the *Calling of Peter and Andrew* (though Peter walks), the *Temptation*, several of the *Miracles*, the *Transfiguration*, the *Meeting with the Samaritan*, *Doubting Thomas*, *Apparition on the Mount*, and a number of others (cf. E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La Croce dipinta italiana*, Verona, 1929, pp. 20, 254, note 17). The scenes that were frequently painted in the fourteenth century, such as those of the *Infancy*, show the least relationship with Duccio.

91. Except for the fingers which hold the staff.

92. Cf. the panels from the shop of Bartolommeo Vivarini, Figs. 35-36. For similar Florentine compositions cf. Piero della Francesca, *St. Jerome and a Donor*, Venice; Pollaiuolo, *S. Miniato altarpiece*, Uffizi; Baldovinetti, *Nativity*, Sma. Annunziata, Florence.



FIG. 19. Pienza, Museum: Workshop of the Master of the Pietà, Altarpiece



FIG. 20. Agony in the Garden, Detail of Fig. 19



FIG. 21. Detail of Fig. 19



FIG. 22. Konopiště, Castle: Tuscan, ca. 1330, Triptych

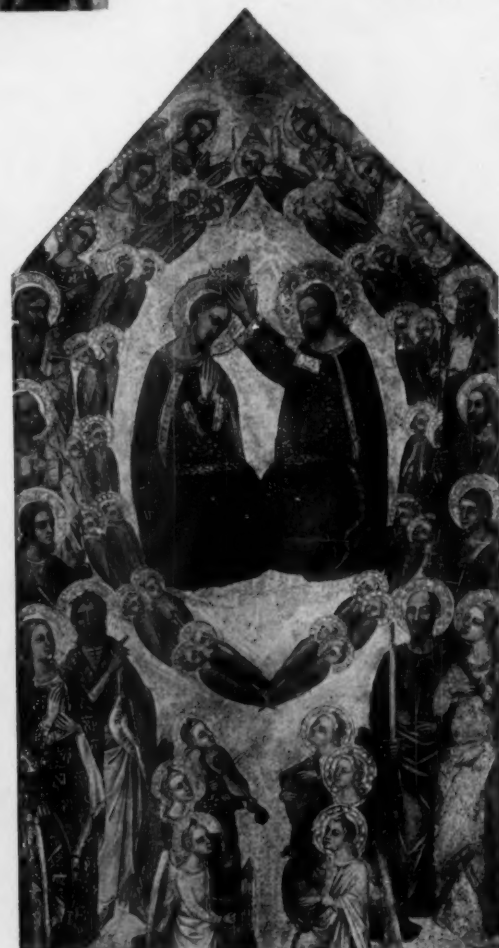


FIG. 23. Konopiště, Castle: Niccolo di Tommaso, Coronation of the Virgin



FIG. 24. Konopiště, Castle: Lorenzo Monaco, Lamentation



FIG. 25. Paris, Louvre: Lorenzo Monaco, Wings of a Triptych



FIG. 26. Konopiště, Castle: Florentine, ca. 1405, Descent into Limbo

3. FLORENTINE PAINTINGS

Of the Florentine paintings in Konopiště Professor Offner has already published two triptychs by followers of Bernardo Daddi.⁹³ A third triptych (Fig. 22), no. 21.186, representing the *Madonna* enthroned with saints and angels, the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, and the *Crucifixion*, recalls painters of a generation before Daddi. The shimmering light (partly retouched?), the picturesque landscape in the *Stigmatization* with its tiny figure, the lively posture of St. Francis, are reminiscent of certain Florentine painters — Pacino di Bonaguida, Jacopo del Casentino, and even the St. Cecilia Master — who developed their style early in the fourteenth century before the full impact of Giotto's art had been felt. The author of the triptych was active probably not in the city itself, but in some nearby town, and at a date later than this style would indicate within Florence itself.

From the Florentine 'sixties or 'seventies there is a *Coronation of the Virgin*, no. 17.119 (Fig. 23) which has been damaged somewhat by repainting and by the removal of a few centimeters of the original panel along the edges. The design is regular and even rigid, the figures locked tightly together, but this is the style of the time, evolved by Orcagna and Nardo di Cione; within it the warm colors and mild blushing saints and angels disclose the hand of Niccolò di Tommaso, Nardo's follower. There is no ground-plane. Christ and the Virgin are seated high in the gilded area, the other figures distributed around them and along the frame. To an earlier fourteenth-century eye they would all appear unnaturally and precariously suspended. In representations of the *Coronation* of the first half of the Trecento Christ and the Virgin sit on a throne, and the throne is placed on a platform that serves also to support the attendant saints and angels.⁹⁴ Beginning in the 'sixties, the two chief figures, sometimes together with the saints and even the throne, are raised above the ground-plane.⁹⁵ The latter in fact frequently disappears. The suspension of the figures, the ring of angels which often encircles them, indicate that the scene is enacted in heaven — where natural laws, such as gravitation, are partly inoperative — rather than in the unspecified locale of the earlier Trecento

representations. Characteristic of the period are the elevation and greater remoteness of the sacred figures and the marked hierarchical distinctions, both within the sacred realm and between it and the layman as spectator. These qualities are related to those we have mentioned above (p. 12), and to others we shall discuss shortly.

There are three Florentine panels of somewhat later date, made around the turn of the century — a *Madonna* with eight saints and four angels (no. 20.288) by a late follower of the Cioni, with some resemblance to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini; a predella panel (no. 22.468) representing the *Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple*, about 1410, and related to Mariotto di Nardo; another predella panel (no. 17.668) showing Heraclius carrying the cross back to Jerusalem, close in style and iconography to Agnolo Gaddi. The last-named is, in fact, a reduced version of Agnolo's fresco of the same subject in S. Croce.⁹⁶

A predella panel representing the *Descent of Christ into Limbo* (Fig. 26)⁹⁷ is a much finer example of Florentine style around the turn of the century. Though reminiscent in some ways of the tradition of the Cioni, it shows clearly the influence of the newer style of Agnolo Gaddi. Curving, rolling movements course through the design, producing a compositional sway that corresponds to the characteristic sway of the single figure in early fifteenth-century art. Into the rising currents of the composition are drawn the repentant thief and Christ, both of whom soar toward Limbo on little cloud-banks, like magic carpets. These flying figures do not appear in Trecento representations, where Christ and the thief walk. Figures on clouds are common for the first time likewise in other early fifteenth-century compositions — the *Madonna* seated on a cloud-bank, for instance.⁹⁸ The antecedents of these representations may be found in the third quarter of the Trecento, when, in conformity with a revived transcendentalism and a trend toward flattened pattern and inorganic form, to which we have already referred, figures are frequently shown suspended above the ground and sometimes the ground-plane itself is lacking (Fig. 23). Indeed whereas early Trecento iconography is characterized by a tendency to bring the sacred figures down to earth, to represent them kneeling or seated on the ground,⁹⁹ compositions from the middle of the century on tend to do just the reverse. At this time the *Madonna* seated on a small cushion or the *Virgin* and *Christ* enthroned in the *Coronation* appear in the middle of a gilded area, without any natural support,¹⁰⁰ and

93. Cf. note 1.

94. Cf. the altarpiece that bears Giotto's name in the sacristy of S. Croce, Florence (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 184); a Duciesque panel in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (formerly Blumenthal Collection); a panel by the Master of St. George, Bargello, Florence (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 184).

95. Cf. the *Coronation* by Niccolò di Tommaso himself, in the Academy, Florence (Richard Offner, *Studies in Florentine Painting*, New York, 1927, fig. 3); workshop of Niccolò di Tommaso, Walters Art Gallery, no. 718, Baltimore; Jacopo di Cione, Academy, Florence (Van Marle, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 276); close to Jacopo di Cione, Vatican (*ibid.*, fig. 286); Giovanni del Biondo, S. Giovanni Val d'Arno (*ibid.*, fig. 291); Bartolo di Fredi, Gallery, Montalcino (*ibid.*, II, fig. 321).

96. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 302.

97. No. 23.184. A small strip of the upper part of the panel is apparently overlapped by the present frame.

98. Cf. Meiss, "The *Madonna* of Humility," p. 448. For other fifteenth-century examples of Christ on clouds in the Limbo scene cf., for instance, two paintings by assistants of Fra Angelico (*Klassiker der Kunst*, pp. 137, 198).

99. Meiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-460.

100. *Ibidem*, p. 447.

Christ in the Resurrection hovers above the tomb.¹⁰¹ Even in historical scenes where figures stand on the ground, they often exert very little or no pressure upon it. In the *Descent into Limbo* in the Spanish Chapel by Andrea da Firenze, both feet of Christ apparently touch the fallen door, but He glides along largely unencumbered by the force of gravitation. Christ in the Konopiště panel seems to be a figure of this sort lifted a little into the air, and like the early Quattrocento Madonnas mentioned above, given clear evidence of supernatural origin or locale by the introduction of a cloud-bank beneath His feet. While these innovations might seem to conflict with the advancing naturalism of the early fifteenth century, they actually promote it by differentiating between the natural and the supernatural, leaving the former to develop as a more self-contained and consistent order of reality. And even the supernatural is given a certain natural plausibility by providing the suspended or floating figures with a material support — a "ground-plane" of clouds.

In so far as Christ and the repentant thief in the Konopiště panel are not only above the ground but moving or flying, they resemble those representations of Gabriel in early fifteenth-century Annunciations where, for the first time, he is shown flying on clouds toward the Virgin. In Lorenzo Monaco's *Annunciation* in the Florentine Academy¹⁰² he soars toward the Virgin in the same way as Christ toward Adam. In both instances the figures do not seem to move through any willed act or effort of their own; they are lifted and borne by the rhythmical forces of the design. These flying figures may be regarded as a genial outgrowth of the swirling style of the early fifteenth century.

Of this style there is a very beautiful example at Konopiště: a *Lamentation* by Lorenzo Monaco (Fig. 24).¹⁰³ The composition consists of a series of elliptical planes — the ground-plane, the group of figures, and the two flat surfaces of the rocks above. These planes are tilted forward and down at the right. Their obliquity is countered and emphasized by the sharp, repeated verticals of the cross and

the buildings. The cross emerges, in fact, as the one stable form in the entire composition. The planes become progressively smaller from the lowest up, so that they compose a kind of stepped cone. The ascending movement created by this form and by the vertical faces of the rocks is given greater momentum and projected further by the cross and the slender towers that dart skyward like rockets. The horizontal bar of the cross, on the other hand, opposes the contraction and the upward movement; it repeats, on a larger scale, the horizontal arm of Christ, and amplifies the design at the top. Within the group of figures the focus of attention is at the left; but the cross insistently marks a central axis. The tension between these two accents, between symmetry and asymmetry, and between the oblique ellipses and the shaft-like verticals, is reflected by the quivering edges of the planes of the rocks and of the group of figures. The mourners are huddled together around the dead body in the bleak landscape. Above them stands the bare cross, a grim reminder. A trickle of blood runs across the rock at its base.

The Virgin bends over Christ, Who lies across her lap in the traditional Tuscan way. One of His arms is held by St. John, the other by a female figure, probably the Magdalen. This central group of the Virgin, Christ, St. John and the Magdalen looks very much like a representation of the Man of Sorrows which has been turned some forty-five degrees. It is similar to the one in the Academy of Florence painted a few years earlier (1404) by Lorenzo himself.¹⁰⁴ Here again is evidence of the close connection between historical scenes and devotional pictures. But in this instance the devotional picture seems to have influenced the historical composition. This reversal of the typical early Trecento relationship is not surprising in view of the fact that during the course of the fourteenth century the difference in character between the two kinds of representation was greatly reduced or eliminated. Historical scenes deal less with action and much more with the state of mind of the people represented and with their emotional interrelations. The Nativity, for instance, gradually becomes the Adoration of the Child. Histories acquire a "devotional" character, and often the only remaining difference between the two is simply the number of figures represented.

The *Lamentation* is one of Lorenzo Monaco's best paintings; it shows the fantasy, the mysterious light and shade, and the sparkling line of the wonderful drawing of the *Journey of the Magi* in Berlin.¹⁰⁵ It resembles in several ways two panels in the Louvre which are dated 1408 (Fig. 25). The style is similar, the subjects are related, the haloes identical. The sarcophagi have a similar shape; I cannot now ascertain whether there are or were panels in

101. Cf. Andrea da Firenze, Spanish Chapel, S. M. Novella, Florence; Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, S. Croce, Florence; Jacopo di Cione, National Gallery, London. The posture of Christ in these representations is probably derived from the Ascension; and it is anticipated to some extent by Taddeo Gaddi's Christ in the *Resurrection* in the Academy, Florence.

102. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 101. For other examples of the flying angel at this period cf., for instance, Giovanni dal Ponte in the church at Rosano (*ibid.*, IX, fig. 51) and in the Badia at Poppiana; Francesco di Antonio, S. Francesco, Figline. There are a few instances of the angel flying — but not on clouds — in the Trecento. Cf. Robb, *op. cit.*, p. 487, note 35, and Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia," pp. 55 ff.

103. No. 21.183. A copy, made apparently in Florence in the fifteenth century though entirely repainted, is in the museum of Narbonne, no. 243. Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, p. 12, attributed it to Andrea di Giusto.

104. U. Procacci, *La R. Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze*, Rome, 1936, fig. on p. 89.

105. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 96.



FIGS. 28-29. Konopistě, Castle: Florentine, ca. 1415-20, Four Saints



FIG. 30. Konopistě, Castle: Follower of Piero della Francesca, Noli Me Tangere and Saints



FIG. 27. Rotterdam, Boymans Museum: Florentine, ca. 1400, Fragment of a Lamentation

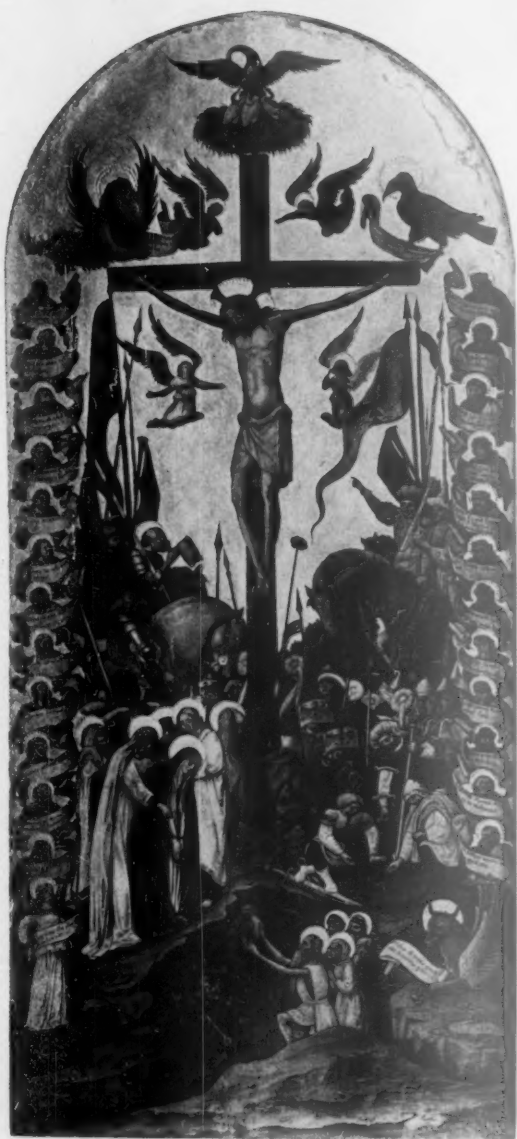


FIG. 31. Konopiště, Castle: Antonio Vivarini, Crucifixion



FIG. 32. Konopiště, Castle: Cosimo Rosselli, St. Catherine



FIG. 33. Cosimo Rosselli, St. Lucy. Whereabouts Unknown



FIG. 34. Konopiště, Castle: Follower of Sassetta, St. John the Baptist



FIGS. 35-36. Konopiště, Castle: Workshop of Bartolommeo Vivarini, Four Saints

the outer faces of the one in the Louvre as in Konopiště, but the lid shows unmistakable traces of them. The similarity of the dimensions is notable — 66.5 x 28.5 for the *Lamentation*, 66 x 26 cm. for the two panels in the Louvre.¹⁰⁶ It is agreed that the Louvre panels, though now framed together, were once wings of a triptych,¹⁰⁷ but what has not been observed is that their original place in a triptych raises a problem. If these paintings occupied the usual inner faces of the wings, the *Three Marias at the Tomb*, with the *Ascending Christ* in the pinnacle, would have been the left wing, the *Agony in the Garden* the right. This arrangement reverses the proper sequence for these two scenes and, if the lower rectangles with the date are still attached as they were originally, it provides an impossible inscription, with 1408 appearing before Anno Domini. It is more likely that these paintings were on the outer faces of the wings, and that their present arrangement presents the aspect of the triptych when the wings were closed over the central panel. In that case there would have been additional paintings on the reverse of the panels, but of these I can find no record.

It is only momentarily disconcerting to learn that the Musée Cluny is said to possess the central panel of the Louvre triptych. In his catalogue of Italian paintings in the Louvre Hauteceur claims that this panel, the subject of which he does not mention, may still be found in the Cluny, left there after the wings were transferred to the Louvre in 1896.¹⁰⁸ There is no other record of a painting by Lorenzo Monaco in the Musée Cluny, and it is highly instructive that Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who visited the museum in the middle of the nineteenth century, did not mention a central panel. They described the paintings exactly as they appear now.¹⁰⁹

A real difficulty, however, is presented by the shape of the Konopiště panel. If it were the central panel of the triptych, it would have terminated in a gable similar to the one formed by the two wings in the Louvre. The modern pseudo-Venetian frame unfortunately conceals the exact shape of the panel — which, furthermore, may have been trimmed a little along its upper edges. Until there is an opportunity to study again the original works in the Louvre

and Konopiště, I can merely suggest the possibility that the *Lamentation* was the central panel of this triptych.

Florentine, and distantly related to the style of Lorenzo Monaco, are two large panels, parts of an altarpiece, the one representing a bishop and St. Andrew (Fig. 28), the other St. John Evangelist and St. Catherine (Fig. 29). They have been partly repainted. The later additions are especially disturbing in the faces and in the drapery of St. John, where the restorer has made a pasty mess of all the horizontal folds near the book. The head of St. Andrew now has something of the form and even the *terribilità* of Michelangelo. Here and in the head of St. John the restorer has exploited the plastic energy of the original forms and dramatized the original expression of grim determination. The qualities of the original painting are more apparent elsewhere: the self-assured posture of Matthew, the reticent composure of the bishop, and the feminine grace of Catherine. This marked differentiation of the figures gives us an indication of place and date of origin. It is supplemented by the way of wrapping the drapery, which falls loosely from the figures. Similarly, arms and hands extend away from the body, implying a surrounding space in which the voluminous figures turn freely. The paintings are the work of a Florentine master such as Giovanni dal Ponte, who inherited late Trecento forms and was touched by the calligraphy of Lorenzo Monaco, and who may even have studied the newer forms of Masolino. Though a painter of considerable strength, superior certainly to Giovanni dal Ponte, I have not been able to identify him. The panels were probably made around 1415–20.

Of the great styles of the early Renaissance in Florence there is merely a pale provincial reflection at Konopiště, and then only if Piero della Francesca be placed in this school. The painter of a long rectangular panel representing, unusually enough, a group of saints surrounding the *Noli Me Tangere*, leans heavily on Piero (Fig. 30). His fastidious taste develops, almost to parody, the slightly self-conscious and rather uncomfortable elegance of some of Piero's figures — the *Baptist*, for instance, in London. The representation of the *Noli Me Tangere* with twelve attendant saints follows an iconographic method developed in Florence by Fra Angelico, who frequently introduced into historical scenes religious figures who lived at various times and whose connection with the event is dogmatic or honorific rather than historical.¹¹⁰

From the latter part of the century there is a fragmentary *St. Catherine* by Cosimo Rosselli (Fig. 32). This was cut from an altarpiece, probably a *Santa Conversazione*, of which a second similar piece, representing *St. Lucy*, was in the market a few years ago (Fig. 33). The figures are

106. I do not know whether the dimensions are for the panels alone or for the panels with frames. For the Louvre panels cf. L. Hauteceur, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des peintures italiennes*, Paris, 1926, p. 76, no. 1348A. I owe to Richard Offner the dimensions of the *Lamentation*.

107. Sirén, *Lorenzo Monaco*, Strasbourg, 1905, p. 61; Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 142.

108. Hauteceur, *loc. cit.* C. Terrasse, *Les Primitifs italiens*, Paris (n.d.), p. 14, repeats the statement of Hauteceur.

109. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy*, ed. Hutton, London, I, 1908, p. 446: "In the Hotel Cluny at Paris a small gable panel, in two vertical parts, representing Christ on the Mount of Olives and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, dated 1408, and falsely assigned to Gentile. It is an exquisite work of Don Lorenzo Monaco."

110. This iconographic scheme may be due in part to Dominican influence, and it is especially characteristic of the painter's frescoes in the Dominican monastery of S. Marco.

influenced by Benozzo Gozzoli, and this, together with the doll-like simplicity of St. Lucy, indicates that they are early works. The original altarpiece was undoubtedly very similar to the one dated 1471 in S. Maria a Lungotuono, near Castelfiorentino. This painting shows a similar style and exactly the same kind of halo, which Cosimo had finally abandoned by 1482 in favor of a glazed, transparent type.¹¹¹

4. NORTH ITALIAN PAINTINGS

In the selection of North Italian, as of Tuscan paintings, Tommaso degli Obizzi showed a preference for small works, and the qualitative level of his acquisitions was scarcely greater, even though he lived near Padua, one of the centers where these paintings were produced. He acquired a small North Italian tabernacle of the late fourteenth century, representing the *Crucifixion* with saints in the wings, perhaps of Paduan workmanship;¹¹² a small Venetian *Coronation of the Virgin*, about 1370;¹¹³ and a North Italian (Ferrarese?) *Crucifixion* of around 1415.¹¹⁴

A crude *Crucifixion*, made in Venice or the Veneto ca. 1400, shows St. John and the Woman of the twelfth chapter of the *Apocalypse* at the foot of the cross, and an elaborate pattern of scrolls with explanatory and didactic inscriptions. A similar combination of the *Crucifixion* with biblical and dogmatic elements, characteristic of the Veneto, appears in an interesting painting by Antonio Vivarini (Fig. 31).¹¹⁵ At the sides of the tall narrow panel there are superimposed busts of prophets and apostles holding curling scrolls.¹¹⁶ The symbols of the evangelists appear above the cross and on the ground below. Conversion and redemption are enacted by the prominently placed centurion and by the extension of the radiant hand of Christ to Adam in a cave below. The two tiers of prophets and apostles resemble

spiral columns. Together with the symbols of the evangelists, the pelican and the angels, they compose an arch framing the scene, like the stone enframing arches which are used occasionally in paintings of this time. Behind this arch in Antonio's panel the arrangement of the figures is generally semicircular, and the entire composition has an apsidal form. This apsidal form is more explicit in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in Venice which Antonio and Giovanni d'Alemagna — his collaborator from 1441 to 1450 — painted in 1444.¹¹⁷ It is, in fact, one of the most common forms of space in Italian painting — and in Italian architecture — of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The Konopiště panel has the rich warm colors of Antonio; his usual soft, luscious forms curl and intertwine like luxuriant tropical vegetation.

Antonio is also the author, with Giovanni d'Alemagna, of a polyptych on the altar of the chapel which has been published by Planiscig.¹¹⁸ The workshop of Antonio's younger brother, Bartolommeo, painted two panels, one representing St. Catherine and St. Lucy (Fig. 36), the other St. Jerome and a bishop (Fig. 35), which were once part of a polyptych. The compositions belong to the "plateau type" mentioned above (Fig. 34). The paintings were made around 1475, when the cool colors, the incisive line, and the vitreous surfaces of Bartolommeo's early Mantegnesque style began to yield to the ideals of breadth and warmth newly developed in Venice by Giovanni Bellini.

There are a number of paintings at Konopiště which I have not mentioned because I have no photographs of them and my notes are scanty. Some are inferior works; none is, I believe, of great importance. If the collection has remained intact through the war, or is reassembled,¹¹⁹ they will no doubt be published by others, perhaps some day in a catalogue of the entire collection.

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111. Cf. the altarpiece of 1482 in S. Spirito, Florence, from Cosimo's workshop.

112. No. 21.194 at Konopiště.

113. No. 21.191.

114. No. 22.457.

115. No. 21.192. Very heavily varnished. The background has been regilded.

116. Cf. no. 3 in the Academy at Venice, Testi, *Storia della pittura veneziana*, Bergamo, 1915, II, p. 253.

117. *Ibidem*, p. 353.

118. Cf. note 1.

119. Just before this article left my hands, Mrs. Zdenka Munzer kindly informed me that Prof. Cibulka, writing to her from Prague on Sept. 10, 1945, said that the Konopiště collections, taken from the castle by the Germans, had been recently discovered in Austria.

THE ICONOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE

DOROTHY C. SHORR

ALL pictorial representations of the scene known as the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* are based on the Gospel according to Luke. The Evangelist tells how when the days of Mary's "purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished," his parents brought the Christ Child to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord.¹

St. Luke's account, which describes the two ceremonies as occurring at the same time, does not correspond with the practice as laid down by the Mosaic law. Forty days were to elapse between childbirth and the day on which the mother might come into the Temple to undergo the rites of Purification; whereas the ceremony known as Presentation and Redemption takes place thirty days after the child's birth. In this latter ceremony, the father presents the first-born son to the priest and subsequently redeems him for five shekels.² This presentation of the firstborn is in accordance with God's commandment to Moses to offer unto him all the "firstborn among the Children of Israel both of men and of beast."³ It commemorates the fact that during the tenth plague, when the firstborn in every Egyptian family was killed, those of Israel were spared. The rite of Purification was also in accordance with the law given to Moses, which commanded the women of Israel, when the days of their purifying had been fulfilled, to "bring a lamb of the first year for a burnt offering, and a young pigeon or a turtle dove for a sin offering, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest who shall offer it before the Lord."⁴ But if they were unable to bring a lamb, then the turtle doves or the two young pigeons would suffice for the burnt offering and the sin offering.

St. Luke, continuing the narrative, then tells how there was a man in Jerusalem named Simeon, a just and devout man, to whom the Holy Ghost had revealed that he should not die until he had been allowed to see Christ. "And he came by the Spirit to do for him after the custom of the law,

then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said: Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word."⁵ Also in the Temple was one Anna, an aged prophetess of fourscore and four years, who "served God with fastings and prayers night and day. And coming in at that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem."⁶

It was this meeting of Simeon with the infant Christ which the early Greek church commemorated with the festival known as *Hypapante*. No knowledge exists as to the date this feast was first celebrated in the Eastern Church. The earliest account is the description of the festival as celebrated in Jerusalem during the late fourth century, in the writings of the abbess Aetheria Silvia who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Lands.⁷ "The fortieth day after Epiphany," she writes, "is celebrated here in Jerusalem with the very highest honor, for on that day there is a procession in which all take part and all things are done with the greatest joy just as at Easter. All the priests, and after them the bishop preach, always taking for their subject that part of the Gospel where Joseph and Mary brought the Lord into the Temple on the fortieth day and Simeon and Anna the prophetess saw him, treating of the words which they spoke when they saw the Lord and of that offering which his parents made. And when everything that is customary has been done in order, the sacrament is celebrated and the dismissal takes place." The festival held in Jerusalem, scene of the original event, now spread throughout the entire Eastern Roman Empire during the sixth century under Justinian. He was instrumental in changing the date from February 14 to February 2, so that the festival should fall on the prescribed forty days after the birth of Christ, the Feast of the Nativity having been fixed on December 25 during the late fourth century.

The circumstances of the introduction of the festival of the *Hypapante* (or *Occursus Domini*), into the Western

1. Luke 2: 22-39.

2. William Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, New York, 1925, pp. 139-143.

3. Exodus 13: 12-15; Numbers 18: 15-16.

4. Leviticus 12: 2-8.

5. Luke 2: 27-29.

6. Luke 2: 37-38.

7. Aug. Bludau, *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria*, Paderborn, 1927, pp. 89-93.

Church, remain somewhat obscure. It was probably established in Rome at the end of the fifth century as a feast celebrating the Purification of the Virgin and served as a counter-attraction to the pagan festival of the Lupercalia.⁸ The tradition that Pope Gelasius I was responsible for its introduction is probably correct since it is in the eighth-century Gelasian Sacramentary, itself based on a much older tradition, that we find the feast mentioned under the title of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This Pope is known to have induced the Senate and patricians to abandon the pagan feast of the Lupercalia which the Christians in Rome, even after the conversion of that city, still continued to celebrate annually on February 14. The Lupercalia in the late Republican era had degenerated from an ancient festival of ritual purification into a feast of extreme licentiousness. Though the church disapproved very strongly, it was powerless to curb the pagan festival until Gelasius put an end to it in the year 492. The substitution on this day of a Christian for a pagan feast of purification would be a logical one, since the month of February, from time immemorial, had been associated with the rites of purification (in its wider sense) at the beginning of the year and, indeed, derives its name from *februare*, a word which is usually considered to be connected with the instruments of purification.⁹

An elaboration of the ceremony took place at the close of the seventh century in Rome, when Pope Sergius I is said to have instituted a procession with candles on the Feast of the Purification. His famous contemporary, the Venerable Bede, refers to the substitution of Mary's procession for the pagan rites in February and describes how the people and priests went through the churches singing hymns and carrying candles.¹⁰ In the ninth century, the custom of blessing these candles for the ensuing year became common, hence the term Candlemas for the Feast of Purification.¹¹ But although the candles borne in procession are first mentioned in Rome during the late seventh century, there is evidence that they were used in some form at an earlier date in the Eastern festival. The Roman matron, Hikelia, who lived in the middle of the fifth century, was said to be among the

first in Jerusalem to institute the custom of going to meet the Savior with candles, and Cyril, the fifth-century patriarch of Alexandria, writes of the "glowing feast in honor of the Lord which occurs not long after Christmas with the bearing of lights," undoubtedly a reference to the Hypapante-Purification feast.¹²

Since the Feast of the Purification replaced the festival of the Lupercalia in Rome, it might be supposed that the candle procession in honor of Mary would find its prototype in a similar pagan ritual. But although we have fairly detailed descriptions of the Lupercalia, no mention is ever made of a procession with lights. Perhaps a clue to its origin is to be found in the account of the Feast of the Purification that Jacobus de Voragine gives in *The Golden Legend*.¹³ He tells us that in the same month of February, the Romans celebrated a feast in honor of Pluto who had carried off Prosperine to the underworld. Her parents sought for her with torches and candles and "in memory of this, the Roman women went in procession in order to obtain the favor of Prosperine. As it is always difficult to wipe out such a custom, Pope Sergius decreed that in order to give to this one a Christian meaning, the Blessed Virgin should be honored each year on this day, a blessed candle being carried in the hand to this end." There are no accounts of the celebration by the Romans during the month of February of such a "feast in honor of Pluto," but it is possible that the author of *The Golden Legend* was referring to the Greek festival of Persephone that was celebrated during the same month (Anthesterion) as was the Lupercalia. This festival, known as the Lesser Mysteries, was held at Agrae near Athens and, like the Eleusinian Mysteries with which it was very closely connected, its cult goddesses were Demeter and Kore.¹⁴ Because of the close connection, it is likely that the Lesser Mysteries included a procession with torches similar to the famous Eleusinian procession. Indeed, this seems probable, to judge from a frieze, found in the river-bed of the Ilissos, which probably came from the Temple of the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae and is now in the National Museum, Athens. This fragment represents a procession of walking figures, one of whom bears aloft a flaming torch.¹⁵ Many Roman Emperors had been initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries and inscriptions on grave reliefs of the late fourth century show that Roman citizens were Eleusinian hierophants;¹⁶ so that

8. The information relating to the development of the festival is derived from the article on Candlemas in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed., London, 1929, IV, p. 739, from *Enciclopedia italiana*, Milan, 1930, VIII, p. 709, and from the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1913, III, p. 189.

9. Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 493.

10. Venerabilis Bedae, *De temporum ratione*, cap. XII in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XC, p. 351.

11. The folklore in connection with this early Spring festival of Candlemas is extensive and interesting. Especially interesting to us is the legend of the bear who at dawn on February 2 comes out of his hole and looks at the sky. If it is cloudy, he jumps with joy because Winter has gone, but if it is fair, he sadly returns to his hole (*Enciclopedia italiana*, VIII, p. 710). This bear is evidently the historical if not the zoological ancestor of our groundhog who emerges on February 2 to look for his shadow.

12. A. Bludau, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

13. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, London, 1941, I, p. 151.

14. See the article "Mysterien" by O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, XVI, 1935, col. 1223.

15. Hans Möbius, "Das Metroon in Agrai und sein Fries," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, LX-LXI, 1935/36, and Plate 91. This frieze was called to my attention by Karl Lehmann.

16. Kern, *op. cit.*, col. 1254.

a thirteenth-century writer might well have thought that the "feast in honor of Pluto" had been a Roman one.

In any case, it has been shown that the character and emphasis of the religious festival celebrating the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Purification of Mary changed through the centuries, developing from the Eastern feast in honor of the Meeting of the infant Christ with Simeon at the Temple in Jerusalem, to the Western feast in honor of the Blessed Virgin and her purification, an event that, according to St. Luke, occurred simultaneously with the Presentation of the Child in the Temple.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the feast of the *Hypapante* continued to be celebrated in the East at the same time that the Feast of Purification and Presentation was being observed by the Western church. The *Hypapante* still persists in the present Armenian church which calls the festival "The Coming of the Son of God into the Temple," and celebrates it on February 14. This dual tradition is reflected in the iconography of the Presentation in the Temple.

A further study of the liturgical development of the festival of the *Hypapante* or Presentation in the Temple reveals that it was not included among the major feasts of the early Orthodox church. In the eighth century, it appears in a list of ten pilgrim festivals compiled by John of Euboea, and replaces the feast of the Visitation. In the twelve major festivals of Christ, which the Greek church accepted in the eleventh century, it occurs fourth on the list after the feasts of the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Epiphany.¹⁷

From the above account, it appears that it was by a very gradual process of evolution that the feast of Presentation and Purification developed from a local fourth-century festival celebrated only in Jerusalem, to its acceptance in the eleventh century by the Greek church as one of the established twelve major festivals of Christ. This gradual evolution in the importance of the festival and its consequent late acceptance into the liturgical group, would explain in part why the subject of the Presentation was not more frequently represented before the eleventh century. There was, in addition, no long-established iconographic tradition on which to build; since the feast was not introduced into Rome until the late fifth century, its representation was unknown in the Early Christian art of the catacombs, the sarcophagi, or the ampullae of Monza. Finally, the infrequent appearance of the subject in pictorial art before the eleventh century may also be owing to the ambiguity inherent in the continuing co-existence, both in liturgy and in representational art, of the Eastern *Hypapante* at the door of the Temple and the Western *Presentation* at the

altar. All these factors may well have contributed not only to the infrequent appearance of this subject in pictorial representation, but also to the divergencies in its iconography.

I

St. Luke's narrative account of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple is specific and detailed. We know for instance just where the ceremony took place, who the protagonists were and what their reactions were to the central event. It remained for the artist to decide which moment of the narrative should be represented, and it is here that we note how the iconographic evolution of the event reflects the chronological evolution of the festival which it illustrates. Thus, the earliest-known representation of the subject, the fifth-century mosaic on the arch of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (Fig. 1) depicts the episode of the *Hypapante*, the *Meeting with Simeon*, which here takes place outside the Temple. The complete absence of an altar or of anything that might symbolize the altar precludes any suggestion of a Presentation ceremony. It is true that St. Luke does not refer specifically to the presence of an altar when he describes the ceremony of the Presentation and Redemption of Mary's firstborn son in the Temple, an Orthodox Jewish ceremony that today takes place at home.¹⁸ But the Hebrew and Greek words for "altar" (*mizbēah* and *θυσιαστήριον*) derive respectively from the verbs "to sacrifice" and "to immolate."¹⁹ Thus the presence of an altar would be implicit in such a sacrificial ceremony as the Presentation of the Christ Child to God, and its absence in the mosaic of the S. Maria Maggiore arch lays the emphasis entirely on the episode of the meeting between the Holy Family and Simeon. This emphasis on the Eastern form of the event would be correct since the Feast of the Purification was instituted in Rome only at the end of the fifth century and the mosaics on the arch date from ca. 420-440. The rite of Purification is here only parenthetically implied by the presence of the sacrificial birds on the steps of the Temple.²⁰

18. An illustration of this Hebrew ritual which shows the Redemption of the first-born son, is reproduced by Erwin Panofsky in "Giotto and Maimonides in Avignon," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, p. 27. It appears in a Hebrew manuscript dating from the late fifteenth century, which is now in the Garrett Collection, Baltimore. The volume contains many miniatures illustrating Jewish rites and customs, among them being a scene which represents the Redemption of the first-born son at home (fig. 1). This shows the mother taking the child from the rabbi who stands behind a table on which seem to be spread the valuables equal to the five shekels with which the child is redeemed.

19. See Charles L. Souvay's article "Altar" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, London [1907], I, p. 360.

20. The fact that these birds are four in number instead of the two mentioned by St. Luke (2:24) has been adduced as one of the

17. Harold R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, Chicago [1936], II, p. 267. G. Millet, *L'iconographie de l'Évangile*, Paris, 1916, p. 20.

The event takes place before a colonnade and the Temple at the right is a purely Roman structure. Mary, dressed as a Byzantine empress (as, indeed, she is in all of the scenes depicted on the arch), holds the Child who wears a tunic and pallium and faces forward in her arms. A central group shows Joseph and Anna with an angel, resembling a *Juno pronuba*, between. Anna uses the gesture of prophecy and Joseph points to Simeon who, with hands covered in the Byzantine manner, hastens from the crowd behind him toward the Christ Child.²¹ The eagerness with which Simeon hurries forward to greet the Lord has its analogy in Pseudo-Matthew's use of the word *festinans* in this connection and would seem to reflect the Eastern tradition in which the emotional emphasis is placed upon the meeting between the two.²² The angels who appear in this, as well as in all the other scenes on the arch, may have a Syriac origin since an Arabic Gospel, deriving from this source, refers to the angels surrounding Christ "like a guard of honor" as he was carried in his mother's arms.²³ Angels appear in later Presentation scenes only in a very few in-

stances and then in quite a different form.²⁴ Indeed, the entire iconographic disposition of this scene is unique and, as far as is known, was never repeated.

As early as the eighth or ninth century, an iconographic form of the Presentation in the Temple existed which was to continue for many generations. This is seen in the enamelled reliquary cross in the Sancta Sanctorum (Fig. 2) whose compositional form, though necessarily contracted, provides an excellent example of the typical Western Presentation in the Temple. Its chief characteristics, compared with the Eastern *Hypapante* of the S. Maria Maggiore mosaic, are: the presence of a central altar, the four protagonists grouped symmetrically according to importance at either side of it, and the Child in a central position held above it by his mother.

Although this iconographic form of the Presentation in the Temple was already established in the West by the eighth or ninth century, the earlier *Hypapante* scene was still occasionally used to illustrate the Presentation in the Temple, evidence of the persistence of the Eastern tradition. In some Presentation scenes, for example, the altar is completely lacking; in others, an altar is placed inconspicuously in the background or at one side of the composition and the emphasis is still on the Meeting with Simeon.

Among the examples in which the altar is completely absent are three representations showing Simeon standing at the right in the open doorway of the Temple about to receive the Child from his mother. The earliest of these is the lost mosaic in St. Peter's made for the Greek Pope John VII and dating from the early eighth century, in which, according to Grimaldi's drawing, Simeon stands in the doorway at the right and the Virgin, carrying the Child and followed by Joseph and probably Anna, approaches him from the left.²⁵ A similar arrangement is seen in the eleventh-century Hitda Evangelistary (Fig. 3),²⁶ although modified by the rare feature of Joseph handing the swaddled Child to Simeon. Mary, who holds the two birds, is followed by four other figures. An Evangelistary from St. Peter's Stiftbibliothek, Salzburg, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS. 781), also dating from the eleventh century, likewise shows Simeon receiving the Child, this

reasons for the iconographic dependence upon the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew of the mosaics on the arch of S. Maria Maggiore. But as far as the Presentation scene is concerned, there is little by which to substantiate this conclusion; for although the mosaic represents in very general terms the episode of the Presentation according to St. Luke and Pseudo-Matthew, insofar as the latter echoes the former, it does not follow the apocryphal Gospel at any of the minor points where this diverges from the canonical. The only exception to this statement is seen in the presence of the four birds on the Temple steps, instead of the two referred to by St. Luke. Since, however, there is a discrepancy in the several texts of Pseudo-Matthew, which read both: *par turturum et duos columbarum*, and *par turturum aut duos pullos columbarum* (Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. C. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1853, p. 77), perhaps too much emphasis should not be laid on the number of sacrificial birds portrayed. In all other respects, the iconography of the Presentation in S. Maria Maggiore shows no immediate connection with the apocryphal writings of Pseudo-Matthew. Thus, he gives Simeon's age as one hundred and twelve whereas the Simeon of the mosaic is not represented as an unduly aged man; on the contrary, his beard, though white, is short and gives him the appearance of a much younger man than the Simeon of later Presentations whose beard is long and flowing. Again, Pseudo-Matthew has Simeon kissing the Child's feet (or palms, according to another text), an episode that finds no place in the S. Maria Maggiore mosaic. Anna, according to Pseudo-Matthew, who here follows St. Luke, is described as a widow of eighty-four years of age, but the mosaic shows a much younger woman, again in contrast with the many later representations of the prophetess as old and wrinkled (Figs. 4, 26, 27). An additional discrepancy is seen in the action of Joseph who, according to Pseudo-Matthew, *duxit . . . infantem ad templum domini*, whereas the Child in the mosaic is carried by his mother. Thus the scene represented in the mosaic is apparently not directly based on any known literary source, either canonical or apocryphal.

21. Alternate texts of Pseudo-Matthew describe Simeon as taking the Child *in pallium suum* and *in ulnas suas*.

22. The bent position of the knee in action persists for generations and is often present even when Simeon is standing quietly at the altar.

23. *Evangelia apocrypha*, ed. P. Peeters, Paris, 1914, II, p. 7.

24. One or more angels appear in such unconnected examples as Giotto's *Presentation* in the Arena Chapel, an early fifteenth-century polyptych (School of Ottaviano Nelli) in the Corsi Collection, Florence, and in Lochner's Darmstadt altarpiece (Fig. 29). The angel Gabriel bearing the lily of the Annunciation accompanies Joseph in a fourteenth-century fresco in the Baptistry at Parma. This is an *Hypapante* scene and the meeting takes place outside the Gothic portal of the Temple with God the Father looking down from Heaven and Anna prophesying to the crowds behind her.

25. Reproduced in J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken*, Freiburg i/B., 1917, I, p. 390.

26. Reproduced in E. Schipperges, *Der Darmstädter Hitdacodex*, Cologne, 1937, fig. 10.

time from the Virgin, as he stands outside the Temple door. The architecture has been extended, Joseph is absent and a maid carries the doves.²⁷

Examples of the Presentation scene in which the altar bears no immediate relationship to the action of the figures include the tenth-century Menologium of Basil II (Fig. 4)²⁸ and a tenth- or eleventh-century ivory plaque in Leningrad,²⁹ in which the altar stands at the left and only three figures are present. Similarly, in a twelfth-century Evangelistary (Bib. Nat. Copt. 13), the altar occupies the extreme right of the composition which includes the usual five figures, here asymmetrically disposed. In all these Byzantine examples, the emphasis is on the meeting with Simeon and, in fact, the seventeenth-century Latin index to the Menologium lists this illustration as "*Hypapante, sive occursus*."

The altar occupies a still less important position in the *Presentation* in the Prüm Antiphonary (Fig. 5)³⁰ and in the Hildesheim Cathedral door, both dating from the eleventh century. In these two examples, it appears framed by the open doorway of the distant Temple which is shown as a complete architectural unit seen from the exterior, the form in which it appears in the S. Maria Maggiore mosaic. Whatever artistic tradition lies behind this type of representation, the action that takes place in the foreground of the composition bears no immediate spatial relationship to the altar. Indeed, the scene appears almost to represent the presentation of the Child to Simeon rather than to the Lord. Still another example of the Western use of the *Hypapante* scene with the altar occupying an unimportant position is found in the Golden Evangelistary of Henry III, also dating from the eleventh century (Fig. 6).³¹ Simeon stands in what may be the triumphal arch of the Temple and holds the Child in his arms, Mary carries her offering of birds and Joseph walks with a stick, an attribute which may refer either to the Journey to Bethlehem or to the *virgula brevis-sima* mentioned by Pseudo-Matthew in his account of the Marriage of the Virgin. This attribute occurs very seldom in Italian Presentations but is common in later Northern representations of the subject.

At the end of the fourteenth century, the tradition of the *Hypapante* was still alive in Western art. Altichiero's *Presentation* at Padua (Fig. 7) shows the meeting between Simeon and the Holy Family. The aged man takes the

Child from his mother and though the scene occurs in the nave of a Gothic church, the altar occupies a subordinate position and is barely visible through the arches at the right. In Northern painting, Hans Holbein the Elder represents an *Hypapante* scene with a barely visible altar in his Weingartner altarpiece of 1493 (see p. 31).³²

Before leaving the subject of the influence of the Eastern *Hypapante* on the Western *Presentation in the Temple*, attention should be called to a very unusual version of the scene in which the Child is walking. I know of only one unmistakable example, an eleventh-century ivory book cover, probably Lower Rhenish, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 8). The scene occurs outside the Temple; Mary guides the walking Child toward a beardless Simeon who greets him at the Temple entrance. A bearded male figure points to Anna who stands in the doorway of the Temple. Behind the Virgin is a group of three young men, the foremost of whom carries two large birds. What may possibly be a second example of this type is on a carved bone casket in the R. Museo dell'Istria, Pola, dating from the fourth or fifth century. The scene on the lid represents the *Traditio Legis* and that on the front the *Etimasia*, but the subjects on the rear panel and the two sides have not been identified.³³ One of these sides, however, shows a child, evidently a boy from his garments, being conducted by its mother to the entrance of a temple, and since the existence has been established of the type of *Presentation* in which the Child walks into the Temple guided by his mother, it is not wholly impossible that the Pola casket is an early example of this rare iconographic form.

II

In contrast with the *Hypapante* which commemorates the Meeting with Simeon and the minor episode of the Purification of Mary, the scene subsequently known in Western art as the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*

32. Another and later example of the *Hypapante* tradition in Italian art is the *Presentation* at Capodistria, dated 1523 and attributed to a follower of Benedetto Carpaccio; here the scene takes place at the top of the steps outside the Temple. In the North, Rubens, in his famous *Descent from the Cross*, in Antwerp Cathedral, represents a *Presentation in the Temple* which clearly reflects the Eastern tradition. He has chosen the moment when Simeon holds the Child exultingly in his arms; the entire composition and all the other figures including that of the Virgin herself, are subordinated to this event. This unusual version, however, is explained by a definite reason. The altarpiece was ordered by the Guild of the Harquebusiers of Antwerp whose patron saint was St. Christopher. The artist, instead of depicting the saint bearing the Christ Child on his shoulder, chose as the main subjects for the three panels those three moments in the life of Christ during which he was being carried: the Visitation, the Meeting with Simeon and the Descent from the Cross (Max Rooses, *Rubens*, London, 1904, I, p. 162).

33. Anton Gnirs, *Führer durch Pola*, Vienna, 1915, p. 127; P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Turin, 1927, p. 322; H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1932, I, pls. 113-114.

27. Another example of the Salzburg School, this one dating from the late twelfth century (Pericope from Passau, Munich Clm. 16002), shows this scene with an architectural background; the altar is absent.

28. *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, Turin, 1907, II, p. 365.

29. Reproduced in A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1934, II, pl. XXIII, 59.

30. Reproduced in A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination* [Florence], 1928, II, pl. 67.

31. Reproduced in A. Boeckler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III*, Berlin, 1933, pl. 175.

illustrates an additional and third event: the ceremony that takes place at the altar on which the Child is presented to the Lord. In this scene the two episodes of the meeting with Simeon and the presentation of the Child at the altar are always synthesized. The conspicuous position of the altar establishes the scene as a *Presentation* in contrast to the early *Hypapante* in which the altar is absent and the event takes place outside the Temple. There is some divergence, however, in the location of the altar, arising possibly from the coexistence of the two traditions. Although some of the early representations show the event occurring at an altar standing inside the Temple (Figs. 10, 11, 17), others place it with the Temple (considered in a symbolic rather than in an actual sense) in the background. Such a scene is found in the eleventh-century Salerno altarfrontal (Fig. 9) and recurs until a late period in Italian art. Trees or other landscape elements are occasionally added, enhancing the outdoor effect.³⁴ From an archaeological point of view, this setting of an "outdoor" altar against an architectural background is the correct one. The Temple in Jerusalem at the time of Christ's birth consisted of a large series of courts and buildings with the Temple itself situated in the innermost court. At the foot of the steps leading up to the entrance of the Temple, stood the Altar of Burnt Offering.³⁵ This form of representation does not, however, imply that the artist of this or of even a much later period consciously strove for historical accuracy.

Although the "outdoor" altar is very common, the more usual setting of the Presentation scene is the Temple, symbolized by three rounded arches from which lamps are suspended. Such a type is seen in the golden altarfrontal of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, dating probably from the ninth century (Fig. 10).³⁶ As on the Sancta Sanctorum cross,

the figures are symmetrically grouped at either side of a central altar. With a characteristic lack of symbolism, however, the Canticle of Simeon (f° 89 v^a) in the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter is illustrated by a Presentation that takes place in the doorway of the Temple, seen from the exterior as a complete architectural unit.

Another type of grouping, with the figures arranged in a two-dimensional frieze-like pattern, is necessitated by the use of a rectangular temple resembling a Constantinian basilica, whose exterior and interior are simultaneously shown, in accordance with a convention of architectural

follow an earlier and well-established iconographic tradition in these respects. One minor difference may be noted between the Child in the altarfrontal and the manuscript; in the latter he carries a rotulus which appears to be absent in the former representation. A rotulus or book is a common attribute of the Child in the Ottonian period (Fig. 17); I know of no earlier example in which a rotulus or book is recognizable.

The appearance of a diminutive altar in both the Ottonian manuscript and the Sant'Ambrogio altarfrontal is recognized by Tatum as indicating a common origin; but since the altar already appears in this scene in the eighth- or ninth-century Sancta Sanctorum cross (Fig. 2), it is obvious that this common origin cannot be Ottonian.

As regards the significance to be attached to the architectural setting of the three rounded arches with dependent lamps, it may be pointed out that, although arches and lamps are present in both scenes, there is a fundamental difference between the two settings. The Ottonian manuscript represents a complete architectural unit with a tiled roof and pediments surmounted by a central cross. In the golden altarfrontal, on the other hand, the arches and abbreviated façade extending only to the limits of the frame constitute a symbolical rather than a complete and naturalistic representation of the Temple.

This symbolical type of architectural setting of the Presentation does, however, occur in Byzantine and Italian reliefs dating from the eleventh and thirteenth centuries respectively. These include two eleventh-century Byzantine ivories (reproduced in Goldschmidt, *Byz. Elf.*, II, pl. v, 21a and 22b), as well as the Presentation scene on the carved candelabrum in the Cathedral at Gaeta, dating from the thirteenth century (reproduced in A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1904, III, fig. 607) and on the ambone by Guido da Como (1250) in the Church of S. Bartolomeo in Pantano, Pistoja (reproduced in M. Salmi, *Romanesque Sculpture in Tuscany*, Florence, 1928, pl. 72, no. 226). Thus the tradition appears to be rooted in Byzantine and probably ultimately derived from classical art. The appearance of this type of architectural setting with three rounded arches and dependent lamps on the Pola casket indicates that it was in use as early as the fourth or fifth century.

Tatum recognizes one difference between the Ottonian manuscript and the Sant'Ambrogio altarfrontal, namely, that "the prophetess Anna on the paliotto holds what appears to be a crown." He attempts to account for this difference by the suggestion that the artist may have mistaken for a crown what was in reality a fold of the mantle in the Ottonian manuscript. He has misinterpreted the object held by Anna; this is a scroll not a crown. A crown is never held by Anna whose only attribute is a rotulus or a prophetic scroll (Figs. 4, 7, 26, 27). The absence of this attribute in the Ottonian manuscript is consistent with the fact that Northern Presentations do not emphasize the rôle of Anna as prophetess. Her figure is either omitted (Figs. 3, 5, 6, 11, 17), or else she is represented with hands raised in a gesture of allocution (Figs. 18, 21).

34. As in the *Book of Epistles of Giovanni Gaibana* (1259) in the Padua Cathedral Treasury.

35. See A. R. S. Kennedy's article "Temple" in *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. James Hastings, New York, 1929, p. 898.

36. George B. Tatum in "The Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio at Milan," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVI, 1944, p. 36, places the front of the golden altarfrontal of Sant'Ambrogio in the Ottonian period, chiefly on the basis of iconographic analogies. He compares the scene of the Presentation in the Temple with that in an Ottonian manuscript and concludes from certain similarities that both compositions are contemporary. He points out that the number and relative positions of the figures are the same and that the small altar and the architectural setting are also very similar. My study of the Presentation scenes on the golden altarfrontal and the Ottonian manuscript leads me to the conclusion that the former is not "an example of a North Italian imitation of Ottonian iconography," as Tatum suggests, but that their iconographic similarities are due to their derivation from a common Byzantine prototype.

In the first place, exactly the same number of protagonists, arranged in the same relative positions, is present in the Sancta Sanctorum cross (Fig. 2) dating from the ninth century or earlier. Indeed, this is the earliest and most common form of grouping (Figs. 4, 9, 14), and the position of the Child facing forward in the Virgin's arms also belongs to the earliest type of Presentation (see p. 23). The Ottonian illustration would therefore appear to



FIG. 1. Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore: Mosaic, Vth Century



FIG. 4. Rome, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1613, Menologium of Basil II, Xth Century



FIG. 2. Rome, Sancta Sanctorum: Enamelled Cross, VIII-IXth Century

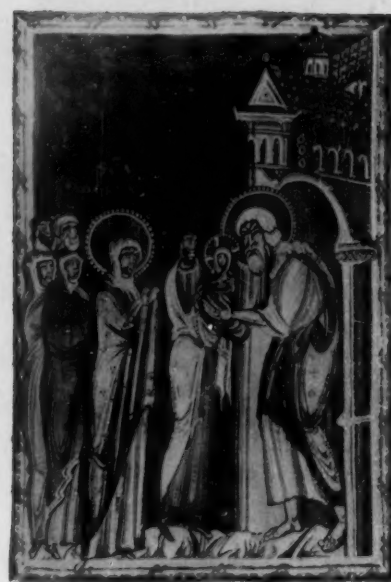


FIG. 3. Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek: Cod. 1640, Hitda Evangelistary, XIth Century



FIG. 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Cod. Lat. 9448, Antiphonary from Prüm, XIth Century



FIG. 6. Gotha, Landesbibliothek: MS. 1, 19, Golden Evangelistary of Henry III, XIth Century

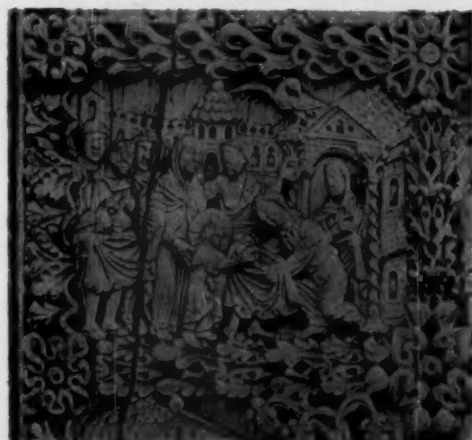


FIG. 8. London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Ivory Book Cover, XIth Century



FIG. 7. Padua, St. George's Chapel: Altichiero, Fresco



FIG. 9. Salerno, Cathedral Sacristy: Ivory Altarfrontal, XIth Century



FIG. 10. Milan, Sant'Ambrogio: Golden Altarfrontal, IXth Century



FIG. 11. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: MS. 1169, Tropy of the Church of Autun, XIth Century



FIG. 12. Rome, Vatican, Sala delle Muse: The Birth of Dionysos, Detail of a Neo-Attic Relief



FIG. 13. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Cod. Lat. 9428, Drogo Sacramentary, IXth Century



FIG. 14. Rome, Corsini Gallery: Fresco from Grotta degli Angeli, Magliano-Pecorareccio, XI-XIIth Century



FIG. 15. Chartres, Cathedral: Detail of the Royal Portal, XIIth Century



FIG. 16. Cappadocia, Chapel of St. Eustathius: Wall Painting, Xth Century

representation that was prevalent in the eleventh century. Examples of this type of grouping are seen in the Tropary of the Church at Autun (Fig. 11),³⁷ and, still more clearly, in a Pericope in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (Cm. 2939),³⁸ and the Golden Evangelistary of Henry III in the Gotha Landesbibliothek (Fig. 6). In the two latter illustrations the altar stands in the apse of the Temple.

Having considered the variations in the setting of the scene, we may now turn our attention to the chief protagonists whose gestures naturally present a number of variations. Most of the action of the narrative as told by St. Luke — the departure of the Holy Family for Jerusalem, the arrival of Simeon and his recognition of the Child, the entrance of Anna and her prophecy — all these events have taken place before the moment that the artist has chosen to represent. This moment shows the group now assembled at either side of the altar, and the chief variations in the representation of the scene lie in the ceremonial handling of the Child as he passes from his mother to Simeon (later, the High Priest). These variations fall into six major iconographic types which will be dealt with, in the first two cases, according to the chronological order of their appearance. This, incidentally, also corresponds to the chronological development of the action. The remaining types, most of which appear during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, will be arranged according to what would seem to be the chronological order of the ceremony of the Presentation.

1. In the earliest form, seen in the eighth- or ninth-century enamelled cross (Fig. 2), Mary holds the Child who is seated facing forward in her arms, a position resembling that in the S. Maria Maggiore mosaic. On the other side of the altar, Simeon with veiled hands hastens to receive the Child; behind him stands a figure, probably Anna, and Joseph stands behind Mary. In a unique variation of this type, an eighth-century silver container, also in the Sancta Sanctorum, Mary is seated with the Child on her knees as in an Adoration of the Magi; Simeon approaches swiftly from the right and Joseph stands behind her carrying the sacrificial birds in his veiled hands, the earliest example of this motif which was to appear for many centuries.

Another variation of the earliest form in which Mary holds the Child is seen in the eleventh-century ivory altar-frontal in Salerno (Fig. 9). Here the Child no longer sits placidly in his mother's arms but leans forward with a gesture of eagerness toward Simeon who prepares to receive him with ceremonially veiled hands. It is interesting to compare this relief with a frieze representing the *Birth of Dionysos* (Fig. 12). In the group at the left of this Neo-Attic copy of a fourth-century work in the Vatican (Sala

delle Muse), compare, for instance, the figure of the infant god with his outstretched arms, emerging from the thigh of Zeus, eager to go to Hermes who hastens toward him with a leopard skin covering his hands. The figure behind Hermes (a nymph or Moira?) with her raised right hand³⁹ corresponds to the figure of Anna with her right hand raised in a "prophetic" gesture.⁴⁰

2. The second moment, in which both Mary and Simeon hold the Child, is shown in two ninth-century examples, the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Bib. Nat. MS. Gr. 510) and the Drogo Sacramentary (Fig. 13). In the latter, Mary holds the Child high above the altar and hands him to Simeon who clasps his feet. Behind Joseph stands a young maiden carrying two birds. She too will be seen continually from now on. In the Utrecht Psalter, with which the Drogo Sacramentary is connected, Mary hands the Child to Simeon in a similar manner and Joseph, who carries the birds, stands outside the Temple.

A variation of this second moment is found in a wall painting from the Grotta degli Angeli at Magliano-Pecora-reccio now in the Corsini Gallery, Rome (Fig. 14). Both Mary and Simeon still hold the Child; although he has hitherto been shown in profile or three-quarter view, he now occupies a completely frontal position. The flat monumental figures, the symmetry of the composition and the type of architectural setting relate this work to other Romanesque wall paintings of the second half of the eleventh and early part of the twelfth century,⁴¹ and it is thus logical that the symmetrically arranged frontal Child should appear at this time. Joseph carries the doves and a young woman with a halo and her hair bound with a fillet stands in the position usually occupied by the elderly prophetess Anna;⁴² she also carries two birds in the folds of her mantle.

39. Although this hand is not the original one, it has apparently been correctly restored (Georg Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1936, III¹, pl. 28 and p. 111).

40. There are other examples of an iconographic analogy between the Child of the Presentation and the infant Dionysos as, for instance, a Hadrianic puteal, formerly in S. Callisto di Trastevere, Rome, which Heinrich Heydemann reproduces (plate 3) in his *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit*, Halle, 1885. Here the infant god faces Hermes in whose arms he is held in the same position as that in which the Child sits in the arms of Simeon. At the side of Hermes stands a satyr with right arm raised in a "prophetic" gesture. Another close iconographic analogy is seen in the infant Dionysos with a nimbus who is seated forward in the arms of Hermes (Reproduced in Edgar C. Schenck, "The Hermes Mosaic from Antioch," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XL1, 1937, p. 392). Literary parallels between the two infants are given by George M. A. Hanfmann, "Notes on the Mosaics from Antioch," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIII, 1939, p. 237.

41. Gerhart Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei im XI. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, v, 1931, p. 33.

42. The same arrangement of figures appears in a wall painting in the new church at Toquale Kilisse which Jerphanion somewhat tentatively places in the latter part of the tenth century. The Child is firmly seated in the four supporting hands and held high above

37. Reproduced in Rohault de Fleury, *La sainte Vierge*, Paris, 1878, I, pl. XXXII.

38. Reproduced in E. F. Bange, *Eine bayerische Malerschule*, . . ., Munich [1923], pls. 61, 166.

In spite of the Western stylistic and iconographic features of this representation, the inscription in the lower frame: *Qui Simeon mundi-venerans excepit in ulnis* recalls the Eastern aspect of the ceremony with its emphasis on the meeting with Simeon.

3. What seems to be the final stage in the development of the frontal Child supported by both Mary and Simeon is reached in the sculptured representation in the tympanum at Chartres (Fig. 15). Here the Child is actually standing upon the altar, a type which then reappears frequently in the thirteenth century. He resembles a statue standing on its base in the centre of a frieze of unidentifiable figures whose presence is undoubtedly owing to the exigencies of the architecture. This *Presentation* group at Chartres is thus a good example of that fusion of sculpture and architecture which is such a marked feature of the Cathedral. A similar frontal Child standing on the altar supported by Mary and Simeon appears at about the same time on a capital in the church of St. Léonard at L'Ile-Bouchard.⁴³

4. These three iconographic types have shown the Child in the act of being transferred from Mary to Simeon; but in the fourth, Simeon alone holds the Child in his arms. This variation occurs in the East about the middle of the tenth century in the Chapel of St. Eustathius (Fig. 16). In this Cappadocian fresco, the figure of a priest in a pointed headdress is called Zacharias,⁴⁴ and the composition has obviously been crudely painted by some uncomprehending artist. The priest's arms are empty, and behind them are the Child's head and shoulders, but he is evidently meant to be represented in Simeon's arms.^{44a}

In Western art, Simeon first holds the Child in the late tenth or eleventh century. He is shown in this position in the three Evangelistaries written for Henry III; Mary is carrying two enormous birds (Figs. 6 and 17).⁴⁵ As these three manuscripts are the product of the School of Echternach, it is possible that the Western iconographic type of Simeon holding the Child in his arms originated in this

workshop in which such a strong Byzantine influence prevailed.

Simeon, having received the Child *in ulnas* or *in manibus*, as the two Evangelistaries are inscribed, is shown at the next moment in the narrative in the act of presenting the Child to God, as in the eleventh-century Pericope (Munich Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 2939) and in the Annals of St. Germain-des-Près, dating from the first part of the same century (Fig. 18).⁴⁶ Here the Child faces Simeon as he does in the wall painting of St. Eustathius (Fig. 16). As in the Echternach School manuscripts, Mary holds two large birds. Anna half turns to the group of men behind her and designating the Child with her right hand "spake of him to all those that looked for redemption in Jerusalem." We shall see her again in a similar pose in the *Presentation* by the Vele Master in Assisi, in a fourteenth-century fresco in the Parma Baptistry, and in Altichiero's fresco in Padua (Fig. 7). The hand of God appears from the heavens as it also does in the late tenth-century Benedictional of St. Aethelwold at Chatsworth, as well as in the late eleventh-century Evangelistary in Gniezno, Poland (Fig. 19).⁴⁷ The early twelfth-century sculpture of the *Presentation* on the church at Moissac is another of the rare examples showing Simeon in the act of dedicating the Child at the altar. Here a new element is introduced in the episode of Joseph who is warned by the angel to flee with his family to Egypt.

Another and rare form in which Simeon holds the Child in his arms is what may be called a Simeon *Glykophilon*. This type is found in both full- and half-length figures. Examples of the former appear in a wall painting in Schloss Eppan, Tyrol, which dates from the latter part of the twelfth century^{47a} and in the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament (Fig. 24). Simeon is holding the Child in both arms and lays his cheek against that of the Infant who embraces the aged man. The iconic half-length Simeon *Glykophilon* resembles the Byzantine type of affectionate Virgin and Child. Such a Simeon appears in the Karahissar Gospels dating from about 1265, in the Leningrad State Library (MS. Gr. 105) (Fig. 20).⁴⁸ The aged saint presses his cheek against the head of the Child who looks out of the picture, evidently at his mother. Another, though late, example of this unusual type is found in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century wall painting in a Moldavian monastery.⁴⁹ The loop of the drapery in which the Child is held

the altar but a pillar of the ciborium seems to support him as well. Reproduced in G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1928, II, pl. 76, 2.

43. A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, I, p. 332.

44. Zacharias also holds the Child in the tenth-century Chludov Psalter in the illustration of the Canticle of Zacharias and prayer of Simeon. Reproduced in T. Uspensky, *L'art byzantin chez les slaves*, Paris, 1932, 2^e partie, pl. XXXV. This confusion between Simeon and Zacharias may be owing to the tradition that after Zacharias had been slain in the Temple, Simeon was chosen to succeed him as High Priest (Protoevangelium XXIV).

44a. Frescoes in Athos also show the Child in Simeon's arms. See G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, Paris, 1927. According to *Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos*, ed. A. Schäfer, Trier, 1855, p. 175, "St. Simeon the god-greeter holds the infant Christ in his arms."

45. The Evangelistary of Henry III, School of Echternach (1039-43), in the Bremen Stadtbibliothek, MS. 21, shows a similar arrangement.

46. Reproduced in Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XXXIII.

47. Reproduced in *Bulletin de la société française de représentations de mss. à peinture*, 19^e année, Paris, 1938, pl. XXXVIII.

47a. Reproduced in J. Garber, *Die romanischen Wandgemälde Tirols*, Vienna, 1928, pl. 39. The affectionate relationship between Simeon and the Child and its deeply emotional character are described in *Les Petits Bollandistes, Vies des saints*, 7^e ed., Paris, 1882, II, p. 214.

48. Reproduced in H. R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, Chicago [1936], II, pl. LXXI.

49. Reproduced in J. D. Stănescu, "L'illustration des Litur-

and the half-length angels above recall late thirteenth-century Tuscan representations of the *Glykophilousa* type of Virgin and Child.

5. Finally, the ceremony completed, Simeon gives the Child back to Mary who holds out her hands to receive him. Such a scene is shown in the twelfth-century Salzburg Pericope of St. Erentrud (Munich Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 15903).⁵⁰ The grouping of the three figures, the domed ciborium and the altar at one side of the composition connect this *Presentation* iconographically with the Byzantine type seen in Fig. 4. Though the Child in the Salzburg Pericope holds out a hand to his mother, the action of returning the Child to her is more clearly represented in a North German Evangelistary (Fig. 21),⁵¹ in which he also turns his head and looks back at Simeon as though reluctant to leave him. This illustration contains a number of other interesting features: a candle on the altar, the presence of a monk with a book and an unusual setting of the scene which appears to be a compromise between a number of traditional settings. The ceremony is taking place not only beneath the domed ciborium of the altar but also within a cross-section of the Temple and finally, in the background, the Temple is again repeated in its exterior aspect. This attempt to reproduce simultaneously three different types of architectural setting has resulted in a rather confused representation.

6. One more iconographic type of the *Presentation* must be noted. This is extremely rare and shows the swaddled Child being held by Joseph. We have already seen one example in the eleventh-century Hitda Evangelistary representation of the *Hypapante* (Fig. 3). The only other example I know is the *Presentation* which occurs in the Autun Tropary (Fig. 11), dating from 996-1024. Here Joseph hands the Child to Simeon over the altar and Mary holds one large bird. It is possible that this iconographic type reflects some knowledge of the Jewish ritual of the *Presentation* and *Redemption*, in which the first-born son is presented by his father; or it may merely illustrate Pseudo-Matthew's account: *tunc duxit Ioseph infantem ad templum domini*. There is yet another possibility that this type of *Presentation* might be connected with the cult of St. Joseph, the earliest traces of which are found in the East where the fourth-century Coptic church celebrated the Feast of St. Joseph the Carpenter on July 20, although later Greek menologies refer to the Feast of St. Joseph on December 25-26. In the Western church, St. Joseph as *Nutritor Domini* appears in martyrologies of the ninth and tenth centuries, though it was not until the end of the fourteenth century that his feast was introduced into the

Franciscan and Dominican calendars.⁵² The *Presentation* in the Autun Tropary is also interesting for its portrayal of Joseph as a beardless young man clad in a short tunic. If the drawing of the lost St. Peter's mosaic is correct, this would be another example of the representation of St. Joseph as a young man.⁵³

These six different types are characterized by the relationship of the Child to those who hold him at the altar. As regards the Child himself, it will be seen that he assumes a passive position in his mother's arms until the ninth century when he raises his hand in blessing (Fig. 13). During the tenth century, a note of naturalism is evident in the way in which the Child clings to his mother when the bearded Simeon is about to take him in his arms (Fig. 4). This naturalism is continued in the next century and is seen in a number of forms. The Child turns his head to look back at his mother as she hands him to Simeon, as in the Cappadocian wall painting at Quarabagh Kilisse (Fig. 22); or he holds out his arms to Simeon in his eagerness to go to him (Fig. 9).⁵⁴ We have noted the Child's hesitation in returning to his mother's arms (Fig. 21). Also in the thirteenth century are examples of the Child who caresses his mother's chin (Fig. 23)⁵⁵ as he does in late thirteenth-century Florentine and early Trecento Sienese representations of the Virgin and Child.⁵⁶

Many of these "naturalistic" gestures antedate by more than two hundred years the writings of Pseudo-St. Bonaventura to whose influence these "human touches" (characteristic of early fourteenth-century art) are usually attributed. In his *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, the late thirteenth-century writer describes how Simeon comes in and worships the Child in his mother's arms "and the Child blessed him." The blessing Child, however, appears in the ninth century (Fig. 13). "And looking to his mother bowed toward him in token that he would go to him," a gesture

52. See the article "St. Joseph" by Charles L. Souvay in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, p. 505.

53. See the article "St. Joseph" by H. Leclercq in Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, Paris, 1927, VII², col. 2660.

54. The *Presentation* in an eleventh-century Exultet Roll in the Museo Civico, Pisa, reproduced in Myrtila Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, Princeton, 1936, II, pl. LXXXVI, 9, is very similar in arrangement to the Salerno altarfrontal.

55. Reproduced in H. Swarzenski, *Die deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 190.

56. Such as a *Virgin and Child* in the possession of Mrs. Kingsley Porter, Cambridge, Massachusetts, by a follower of the Magdalen Master and a polyptych panel by a follower of Simone Martini in the Gardner Collection, Boston. A study might be made of the relationship between the posture of the Child in the *Presentation* and in other representations. For instance, in a fourteenth-century Umbrian miniature in the Perugia Library (R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, v, 1925, fig. 3) the Child, who is held over the altar between Simeon and Mary, is derived from the type of Child in Duccio's *Virgin and the Three Franciscans*.

gies," *Annuaire de l'Institut de phil. et d'hist. orientale*, 1932-33, pl. XIX.

50. Reproduced in G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1913, pl. LIV, fig. 167.

51. Reproduced in H. Swarzenski, *Vorgotische Miniaturen*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 74.

that has already been seen in the eleventh century (Fig. 22). "Then the Child," writes Pseudo-St. Bonaventura, "stretching his arms to his mother, was taken to her again," a motif that has already been illustrated in the thirteenth century (Fig. 21). This suggests that Pseudo-St. Bonaventura was either following an earlier literary tradition or was describing a number of pictorial representations whose iconography had already been established.

Although these naturalistic details have crept into the pictorial representations, they do not include the age of the Child who is depicted, not as an infant of six weeks but as a boy of three or four years, dressed in the conventional Byzantine tunic and mantle. Only very rarely is he shown as an infant in swaddling bands (Figs. 3 and 11).

The gestures of the two other main protagonists, Mary and Simeon, in their relation to the Child have already been dealt with. Other variations in the representation of these two figures occur. Mary, when not holding the Child, carries the sacrificial birds (Figs. 3, 6, 11, etc.). In the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament (Fig. 24) and in an Italian(?) ivory in Modena, dating from the fourteenth century,⁵⁷ she is mourning, a prefiguration of the Crucifixion scene;⁵⁸ and the early fourteenth-century wall painting in Mühlheim am Eis (Fig. 25) shows her with a sword through her breast, a reference to St. Luke's prophecy: "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed."⁵⁹ This motif appears again in the fifteenth century in Wawel Cathedral, Cracow.⁶⁰ Simeon, until the fourteenth century, is represented as an elderly bearded man with a halo, dressed in flowing robes, his hands usually ceremonially veiled in the Byzantine manner. An exception to this type is the Simeon in doublet and hose in the Polish Evangelistary (Fig. 19).

The prophetess Anna does not always appear in the group. Sometimes a young woman is present when a fourth figure is required to balance the composition or to hold the sacrificial birds. A fine characterization of the aged prophetess is seen in the Basil Menologium (Fig. 4), where the raised hand and head thrown back are rendered with an unusual degree of prophetic frenzy. A similar emotional

intensity is displayed by the aged prophetess in Nicola Pisano's *Presentation* at Pisa (Fig. 26). Anna appears seldom in Northern art and, when present, displays little emotion. Curiously enough, on three occasions a figure with Anna's attributes and usual position in the composition is represented with a beard. I have not been able to trace the origin of this tradition. In the scene of the *Presentation* by the Magdalen Master in the Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, the hand of the bearded figure is raised in Anna's traditional gesture of prophecy, the other holds the scroll. In two other examples,⁶¹ also Italian but dating from the following century, the bearded figure again holds the prophetic scroll.

Joseph's chief function is to carry the sacrificial birds. He usually holds them in his hands or in the folds of his garments in Byzantine and Italian representations although in the Giovanni del Biondo altarpiece in the Florence Academy he carries the two doves in a woven basket and bows low as he presents them at the fire altar. Later Northern art usually shows the birds carried in a basket or cage. Occasionally Joseph brings a lamb instead of the birds. His usual attire is the conventional draped garments of biblical characters in art although he is occasionally dressed in contemporary costume, especially in later Northern *Presentations*.

Until the fourteenth century there had been symbolic but not realistic pictorial representations of the interior of the Temple as a setting for the scene of the *Presentation* in keeping with the representational development of architectural background as such. The first example of a Gothic church interior dates from about the second decade of the Trecento and appears in the *Presentation* by the Vele Master in the Lower Church at Assisi. Since it is unlikely that such an important innovation could have originated with this comparatively obscure painter, its origin must be sought in the work of some outstanding master of the early fourteenth century, probably Sienese, since a preoccupation with realistic settings had always been a characteristic of this school. It is possible that some lost painting by Simone Martini or the Lorenzetti formed the prototype of the *Presentation* scenes that were repeated in the work of the Vele Master and of the many succeeding painters. The same increasing interest in realistic representation of the interior of a church extends as well to the altar itself. Up to this time the altar was of two types: with and without a domed or pyramidal ciborium. In both cases it is represented as a small square isolated table (the Greek type), often draped

57. Reproduced in A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, pl. LXXII, 223a.

58. Dorothy C. Shorr, "The Mourning Virgin and St. John," *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, [p. 61].

59. Luke 2:35.

60. Reproduced in Feliks Kopera, *Dzieje Malarstwa w Polsce*, Cracow, 1925, I, p. 201. C. R. Morey in "A Group of Gothic Ivories in the Walters Art Gallery," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 199, gives other examples of the sword motif in Crucifixion and *Presentation* scenes and attributes it to the influence of Dominican mysticism. St. Bridget of Sweden also refers to the sword in the *Presentation*: "Simeon had announced in the very face of the Virgin that a sword should pierce her soul." *Revelations and Prayers of St. Bridget of Sweden*, New York [1928], p. 54.

61. An initial by Berardo da Teramo in a Chorale dating probably from the first half of the fourteenth century, reproduced in P. Toesca, *Monumenti e studi per la storia della miniatura italiana*, Milan, 1930, pl. LXXVII; and an elaborate *Presentation* by the School of Nicolo di Pietro Gerini in S. Maria Primerana, Fiesole. This composition includes candles and a basket containing the sacrificial birds, features that are characteristic of Northern art. It has, however, been extensively repainted.

with a cloth. Upon it is placed the Book of the Gospels, sometimes a chalice and occasionally, especially in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one or more of the sacrificial birds.⁶²

In the thirteenth century, a candle on the altar is usual in Northern representations of the Presentation in the Temple.⁶³ It may also be carried by one of the figures assisting at the ceremony, usually a maiden⁶⁴ or Joseph. In Italian representations of the scene, however, the candle associated with the rites of purification seldom appears. The maiden who carries the taper in Giotto's *Presentation* in Padua is one of the few exceptions.⁶⁵ Perhaps the idea of the Purification of the Virgin was always less important to the Italian artist, who was nearer the original Byzantine source with its emphasis on the *Hypapante*. Moreover, there had always been a tendency for the Church to deny the implication that the Virgin Mary should require the rites of purification. This idea is clearly expressed by Jacobus de Voragine in *The Golden Legend*.⁶⁶ He explains that "The Virgin Mary was not constrained to obey the law of purification, since her childbearing was not due to human

contact, but to the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit. Nonetheless she was minded to submit to this law for four reasons: namely, to give an example of humility; to do homage to the Law . . . ; to put a term to the Jewish purification, and to mark the beginning of the Christian purification . . . ; and to teach us to purify ourselves throughout our whole life. . . . Candlemas," he continues, "was established . . . to show forth the purity of the Virgin Mary. To impress her purity upon the minds of all, the Church ordered that we should carry lighted candles, as if to say: 'Most blessed Virgin, thou hast no need of purification; on the contrary, thou art all light and all purity!'"

It is also during the thirteenth century that an addition is made to the main foreground figures participating in the event. Until the middle of the century, there are usually five protagonists in the scene of the Presentation in the Temple. Mary, the Infant, and Simeon are of course invariably present; Joseph usually plays a humble part. The prophetess Anna appears in Italian representations, but she is seldom present in Northern pictures. In the latter, the Virgin is often accompanied by a young handmaiden; she fills the same rôle as does Anna in balancing the composition. The new character that now appears is that of a second bearded man, probably the priest of the Temple, first introduced during the second half of the thirteenth century, perhaps in Nicola Pisano's *Presentation* on the pulpit in the Baptistery at Pisa (Fig. 26). This scene now includes two elderly men with heavy beards, as well as the Holy Family, Anna and a crowd of spectators and acolytes. The bearded man who holds the Child is probably Simeon. The other must be the priest.^{66a} He is a noble Dionysiac figure, derived from a vase relief in the Campo Santo, Pisa, which ultimately depends on the scene of Dionysos in the house of Ikeros, thus forming another link in the iconographic connection between Dionysos and the Presentation. The sculptor has placed the scene in front of the Temple whose three rounded arches and relation to the altar in the foreground may be compared with the Salerno altarfrontal (Fig. 9). Here, however, the altar is barely visible.

III

The uncertainty as to the identity of Nicola Pisano's two aged men no longer exists in representations of the following century when the unmistakable figure of a High Priest, dressed in ecclesiastical robes and officiating at an altar, appears in Presentation scenes, in addition to the figure of Simeon with a halo. It cannot be said with certainty who was the first master to introduce this specific figure of the High Priest; but the first dated appearance is in Ambrogio

62. Examples appear in a late twelfth-century Evangelistary in Wolfenbüttel (Landesbibl. Helmst. 65), reproduced in Hanns Swarzenski, *Vorgotische Miniaturen*, p. 72, and in the early thirteenth-century Bamberg Psalter (Stadtbibl. 48) reproduced by the same author in *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1936, II, fig. 799. Bartholomäus Zeitblom repeats this motif in his *Presentation* at Ulm. The birds perched on the altar appear less seldom in Italian Presentations. An example is the fourteenth-century fresco in S. Martino, Pisa, which, however, resembles the ninth- or tenth-century ivory chest of the School of Metz, in the Louvre, reproduced by A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1914, I, pl. XLII, no. 95. Another fourteenth-century example is in the Orcagnesque Master of the Ashmolean Predella, whose *Presentation* in the Haniel Collection, Munich, is derived from Lorenzetti.

63. According to A. J. Schulte in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, London [1907], I, p. 350, candlesticks upon the altar probably do not appear before the twelfth century. It has already been pointed out that the custom of bearing candles in procession at the Feast of the Purification of Mary had been instituted in the late seventh century in Rome and that in the eleventh century the blessing of these candles for the ensuing year became common. This ceremony of blessing the candles still occurs in the Roman Catholic Church before the mass of the Purification of Mary on February 2, and in the lighted candles carried and offered by the faithful, the Church sees a parallel with Jesus carried by his parents to the Temple and offered to God by Simeon (*Liturgia*, Paris, 1931, p. 773).

64. Erwin Panofsky has pointed out in a personal communication that in thirteenth-century Flemish and Franco-Flemish calendars at the beginning of Psalters and Books of Hours, the month of February is illustrated by a maiden bearing a tall candle instead of by the customary scene of the peasant warming himself at the hearth. Examples of this are found in two Psalters dating from the second half of the thirteenth century in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 106 and M. 72). Other examples are cited by J. F. Willard in "Occupations of the Months in Mediaeval Calendars," *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, VII, No. 74.

65. In a fourteenth-century Italian embroidered alb, a tonsured clerk at the right holds a taper. Reproduced in Louis de Farcy, *La Broderie* [Angers, 1919], Sup. 2, pl. 185.

66. I, p. 150.

66a. The Armenian Infancy Cycle (*Évangiles apocryphes*, ed. P. Peeters, Paris, 1914, II, p. 153) refers to the "priests" to whom the Child was presented.

Lorenzetti's *Presentation* (1342) in the Uffizi (Fig. 27). The great influence from the point of view of both style and iconography that Ambrogio exerted on Italian artists causes this *Presentation in the Temple* to stand out as a landmark. It is a composition so rich in details, which reflect the artist's interest in archaeology, that it deserves careful analysis from the point of view of its iconography.

The ceremony occurs in an elaborate tripartite church interior seen frontally from the exterior, with the altar enclosed by the central arch, a tradition which follows the earliest representations of the scene. The architecture is partly Trecento Gothic and partly Romanesque, a combination that was later used by Northern artists to denote the exotic and Oriental character of the scene.⁶⁷ Above the two slender pillars are the statues of Moses and David; the former, placed above the figure of Mary, would refer to the Mosaic law of Purification, the latter, above the figure of the Child, would relate to his royal lineage. In the spandrels of the central arch are the busts of Moses and Malachi, each holding a scroll. The words on the former's scroll refer to the Mosaic command to bring two turtle doves or pigeons "if she be not able to bring a lamb." The other scroll, held by Malachi, contains a quotation from the third chapter of his book. The Latin words inscribed are "And the Lord whom you seek shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the messenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in." According to Malachi, this messenger was to come to the Temple in order "to purify the sons of Levi and purge them that they may offer unto the Lord an offering of righteousness." Although the Purification of the Virgin is implicit in the scene, there is also the idea of purification in a wider sense, as well as the twofold reason for the presence of Christ in the Temple. There is also a liturgical connection in the Roman Missal where the "Lesson from the Prophet Malachias 3" is included in the service of the Feast celebrating the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A further connection between Malachi and the Presentation is seen in the *Biblia Pauperum*. In illustrations of this scene, one of the prophets holds a scroll inscribed "Mal. III. 1." Another reference to the Book of Malachi may possibly be seen in one of the many adaptations of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation*, that by Bartolo di Fredi in the Louvre. In this unique version, the bearded man who stands next to the High Priest at the altar is holding an inkwell. He seems to be dictating to the priest who is writing in a book upon the altar. It is not impossible that this scene might be explained by the sixteenth verse of the third Book of Malachi: "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another and the Lord hearkened and heard; and a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and thought upon His Name and they shall be spared at the Day of Judgment."

67. Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1943, I, p. 102.

Until now the figure scale had been an ideal one but in the Lorenzetti *Presentation* an attempt has been made for the first time to relate the figures to the interior of the Temple, in keeping with the new Renaissance concept of naturalism. The noble figure of Mary with her two attendants stands at the left before the altar while a patriarchal *Sanctus Simeon* (according to the inscription on his halo), holds the Infant in his arms. At the right stands Anna with her prophetic scroll and at the left is Joseph with empty hands. The doves have already been placed upon the altar and the High Priest, in rich vestments, holds them by their wings preparatory to sacrificing them with the knife in his other hand. The flames emerging from a round hole emphasize the idea of a sacrificial altar. This type of altar with flames emerging appears for the first time in two works both dating from the third decade of the fourteenth century. One is the *Presentation* by Jacopo del Casentino in the National Gallery, Washington, which bears the date of 1330. The other is Taddeo Gaddi's quatrefoil *Presentation* in the Academy at Florence, usually dated ca. 1335. The altar of burnt offering in the Gaddi quatrefoil is of a different type from that in the Jacopo del Casentino and the Lorenzetti *Presentations*, since it appears to be a large hollow structure from which high flames arise. On the other hand, the Gaddi *Presentation* is iconographically more closely connected with the Uffizi panel inasmuch as both the High Priest and Simeon are present. There is no High Priest in the Washington panel. The same two figures are represented again as well as a similar altar (but hexagonal instead of square) in a fresco of the *Presentation* in the Castello del Poppi, Casentino, the work of Gaddi's school.⁶⁸ Thus, if the dating of Gaddi's quatrefoil panel in the third decade of the Trecento be correct, the figure of the High Priest officiating at the altar of burnt offering would have appeared some years before the Lorenzetti *Presentation* of 1342 and leads again to the supposition that an earlier *Presentation*, possibly by Ambrogio, was the prototype of all the iconographically connected representations of the scene.⁶⁹ In any case, Lorenzetti's *Presentation* of 1342 had an influence that may be followed until the late fifteenth century, not only in the Siennese but also in the Florentine and other Italian schools. Lorenzetti's followers repeat the same type of tripartite building with the central altar visible through the middle arch, and they attempt, with varying success, to represent the details of the interior

68. Reproduced in Osvald Sirén, *Giotto and Some of His Followers*, Cambridge, 1917, I, p. 156.

69. The iconography of Taddeo Gaddi is supposed to have been influenced by the writings of his friend Fra Simone Fidati, especially by this monk's interpretation of the Gospels, *De Vita Cristiana*. I have not seen an edition of this work, but an article by I. Maione in *L'Arte*, xvii, 1914, p. 107, on "Fra Simone e Taddeo Gaddi," does not give very convincing arguments in support of this theory.

of the Temple. The figure of the High Priest officiating at the altar is usually introduced although sometimes it is he, not Simeon who holds the Child.

Lorenzetti's influence extended not only to Italian but also to Northern art as well. Franco-Flemish painting of the late fourteenth century with its dependence on Siena also bears evidence of familiarity with Ambrogio's *Presentation*. This is seen in Melchior Broederlam's altarpiece at Dijon, but here the figures of Simeon and the High Priest have been synthesized; the aged man who receives the Child from his mother wears ecclesiastical vestments; at the same time he is represented with Simeon's halo. This synthesis is common in Northern Presentations and may well be owing to the apocryphal story of Simeon as Priest of the Temple.⁷⁰ It appears as early as the tenth or eleventh century in a Byzantine ivory plaque⁷¹ that shows the bearded figure with both a halo and a mitre (as in Fig. 16), but without a name inscribed. The earliest occurrence of this synthesized Simeon-High Priest figure in Italian art is in 1338, in an enamelled reliquary which will be discussed later. Lorenzetti's influence on Northern iconography recurs again in Jacques Daret's *Presentation* in the Petit Palais, Paris, dating from ca. 1434. This shows a close connection with the Siennese composition of nearly a century earlier, although a maid with a candle and the birds in a basket replace the High Priest behind the altar.

IV

During the earlier part of that century in which Ambrogio Lorenzetti flourished, a further iconographic innovation occurs. This is the kneeling posture of the Virgin in the Presentation scene. Pseudo-St. Bonaventura tells how the procession of the Holy Family came to the altar of the Temple and "the Mother with reverence kneeling down offered her son to the Father." This Virgin is the iconographic reflection of a new point of view that prevailed in Italy and especially in Siena during the fourteenth century. Meiss has shown⁷² how this point of view, which implied a much closer and more human relationship than had hitherto existed between mankind and the saints, is reflected in contemporary art, chiefly in attitudes that express the humility of the sacred figure. Such an attitude as that of the Virgin seated on the ground, often nursing the Child, or lying in a grief-stricken posture in the Crucifixion scene, is very common during this period. The Virgin was now invested with the simpler emotions of the peasant woman instead of those of the Queen of Heaven, an attitude in keeping with the less formal and more personal relationship now prevailing between the Church and the people.

Although other types of the "humanized" Virgin, especially that of the Madonna of Humility, enjoyed great popularity during the Trecento, the kneeling Virgin in the Presentation scene is seldom represented. She appears for the first time to my knowledge in 1337-38 in one of the enamelled plaques on a large silver reliquary of the S. Corporale in Orvieto Cathedral (Fig. 28). This was made by the Siennese goldsmith, Ugolino di Vieri, and though some of the scenes from the Life of Christ with which it is decorated are derived from Duccio's *Maestà*, the subject of the Presentation is so close to the famous scene by Lorenzetti, that it is impossible to dismiss the idea of a close connection between the two. Were it not for the fact that the reliquary is dated 1338, or four years earlier than the dated *Presentation* by Ambrogio, it would be logical to assume that the enamel was a reduced version of the 1342 panel in the Uffizi. Here again we have evidence pointing to a lost prototype.

The kneeling Virgin appears again in the middle of the century in one of the lunettes painted in the Collegiata of San Gimignano. Though it was probably executed by Giovanni d'Asciano, it is undoubtedly after a design by Barna da Siena. Such a departure from the usual centralized and two dimensional representation of the scene would be characteristic of that great iconographic innovator. This scene shows the Virgin kneeling before a diagonally placed altar across which she presents the swaddled Child to Simeon. The only other important examples of the kneeling Virgin in the Presentation that I know are the Giovanni da Fabriano in the Louvre and the three Gentile di Paolo *Presentations*.⁷³ These latter are all ultimately derived from Lorenzetti and in all of them the Virgin's knee is only very slightly bent.

On the other hand, Northern art of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries frequently represents the Siennese kneeling Virgin in the Presentation scene. The earliest occasion on which this figure appears is in the Bohemian altarpiece in the Marienkirche at Thorn dating from about 1380.⁷⁴ It is quite similar in arrangement to Barna's fresco at San Gimignano. Both show a tripartite interior with a vaulted roof, a diagonally set altar with steps at the left, the kneeling Virgin at the right and, behind her, Joseph holding two birds in his outstretched hands. The Child in the Thorn altarpiece, however, is completely nude in contrast to the heavily swaddled Infant in San Gimignano, and he sits at the edge of the altar supported by Simeon. The prophetess Anna is absent as is usual in Northern Presentations. Many other examples of the kneeling Virgin appear in early fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts

70. See note 44.

71. See note 29.

72. Millard Meiss, "The Madonna of Humility," *ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, p. 435.

73. In the Accademia, Siena, the Conservatoria di S. Pietro, Colle in Val d'Elsa, and the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

74. Reproduced in Curt Glaser, *Die altdeutsche Malerei*, Munich, 1924, p. 37.

of the French, Flemish, and Dutch schools. Perhaps the most famous example is Stefan Lochner's altarpiece, painted in 1447 for the Church of St. Katherine in Cologne and now in the Museum at Darmstadt (Fig. 29). A relic of St. Simeon was in this church and the High Altar was dedicated to him. This altarpiece is therefore the story of Simeon but the theme of the *Hyapante* seems to have been entirely forgotten in Northern art and the emphasis is here placed on the triple ceremony of Presentation, Redemption and Purification.

Simeon appears as the High Priest, clad in rich vestments. Behind him stands a group of men, among them a Knight of the Teutonic Order of St. Katherine, who holds a scroll on which is written: "Jesus, Mary, vouchsafe us the reward together with the righteous Simeon, whose relic I show in full beauty." The reliquary which the knight must have held has been defaced.⁷⁵ The Child, again entirely naked and with a large halo, is seated frontally on the altar and is supported by Simeon in the folds of his *pluviale*. On the steps of the altar, Mary kneels and offers the doves, while behind her stands Joseph counting out the redemption money from his purse. The literary basis is probably Pseudo-St. Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Life of Christ*. He writes "And now take we heed of how the Child sits upon the altar as if he were just another Child of the common people and then he was bought again as a servant for five pennies called shekels." Then Mary, taking the birds from Joseph's hand, kneels and offers them above the altar to God "as the first gift that your little Child presenteth." Thus the text misinterprets the ceremony of Purification. Lochner's Child, however, does show great interest in the birds held by his mother. Anna stands among the group of women at the left with her hand raised in prophecy; this is one of the few occasions on which she appears in Northern art. Another unusual feature, seen only in this representation and those dependent on it, is the Candlemas group of children with their lighted tapers. Some wear pointed pattens and the leaves that strew the ground repeat their jagged outline. I do not know the significance of the leaves that appear here and in other Presentations of the School of Cologne. Possibly they are used merely to decorate the church for the glad occasion. In the Weavers' Pageant of the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, played in Coventry in 1534, the Clerk who is about to array the altar for the arrival of the Christ Child says "And the grounds strew we with flowris gay Thatt of oddur swetely smellis."⁷⁶

The ceremony takes place at an altar which Lochner represents with a typically Northern fondness for detail.

75. Lotte Brant, *Stefan Lochners Hochaltar von St. Katharinen zu Köln*, Hamburg, 1938, p. 51.

76. F. Holthausen, "The Weavers' Pageant, by Robert Cross," *Anglia*, XXV, 222.

The tripartite altarpiece upon it has the usual figure of Moses in the central panel,⁷⁷ implying the Mosaic law of Purification, and it as well as the Hebrew script upon the altarcloth serves to emphasize the Jewish character of the Temple. The representation of the *Sacrifice of Abraham and Isaac* on the altarfrontal is the typological Old Testament parallel for the sacrifice of Christ upon the altar; and the alpha and omega in Gothic script below the candles on the altar imply the final sacrifice of Christ, the Crucifixion.⁷⁸ God the Father, surrounded by little angels, appears above the altar, an unusual detail which may also prefigure the Crucifixion.⁷⁹

The redemption money which Joseph is shown in the act of removing from his purse in the Lochner altarpiece is clearly visible in another German representation (Fig. 30). This is one of the six scenes in the Life of the Virgin depicted in a South German embroidered antependium dating from the last quarter of the fifteenth century and belonging to Mr. Charles F. Iklé in New York.⁸⁰ The five large coins (or "florins," since they bear a fleur-de-lys) lie conspicuously on the altar at which Mary is about to give the Child to Simeon who is clad in a rich velvet stole. Joseph carries a stick and the attendant maid behind the altar holds the two sacrificial birds and a tall flaming candle which, together with the shekels, form a combination of both Jewish and Christian ritual.

About a decade after Lochner's *Presentation*, another Northern master, Rogier van der Weyden, produced an entirely different version of the scene. It influenced not only the Flemish and, later, the Spanish schools, but it is also reflected in Italian art of the late fifteenth century.⁸¹ Rogier's treatment of the scene in the St. Columba altarpiece wing in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Fig. 31), reverts in a way to an earlier type. This *Presentation* is almost an *Hyapante*, for although the event takes place inside the Temple,⁸² the altar is barely visible and its formal presence is not stressed; furthermore, the master has emphasized the solemnity of the moment in which Simeon

77. Erwin Panofsky, "Once More the Friedsam Annunciation . . .," *ART BULLETIN*, XX, 1938, p. 430.

78. Other prefigurations have been seen in the Mourning Virgin (Fig. 24) and in the Virgin pierced by a sword (Fig. 25). In a *Presentation* by Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, in Volterra, a composition in the Lorenzetti tradition, the diagonal group of Simeon, the Child and Mary, suggests a Descent from the Cross.

79. God the Father appears in the pinnacle of the Jacopo del Casentino *Presentation* and in a few other instances such as the Giovanni del Biondo 1364 *Presentation* in the Florence Academy and the fourteenth-century fresco in the Baptistery at Parma.

80. This was called to my attention by Dr. Erwin Panofsky. It is reproduced in Betty Kurth, *Die deutschen Bildteppiche des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1926, I, pls. 233/234.

81. For instance, the *Presentation* by Borgognone at Lodi.

82. Ludolf of Saxony, *Vita Iesu Christi*, I, 12, describes the Temple in which Christ was offered as a vaulted circular building whose eight sides rested on large marble columns.



FIG. 17. Madrid, Escorial: Codex Vit. 17, Golden Evangelistary of Henry III, XIth Century



FIG. 18. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Cod. Lat. 12117, Annals of St. Germain-des-Près, XIth Century



FIG. 19. Gniezno, Chapter Library: MS. 1a, Evangelarium Codex Aureus, XIth Century



FIG. 20. Leningrad, State Library: MS. Gr. 105, The Four Gospels of Karahissar, XIIIth Century



FIG. 21. Brandenburg a.d. Höhe, Domkapitel: Evangelistary, XIIIth Century



FIG. 22. Cappadocia, Church of Quarabagh Kilisse: Fresco, XIth Century



FIG. 23. Hamburg, Staatsbibliothek: in Scrinio 83, Psalter of Diocese of Trier, XIIIth Century



FIG. 24. Chicago, University Library: MS. 2400, Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament, XIIIth Century



FIG. 25. Mühlheim am Eis, Parish Church: Fresco, Early XIVth Century



FIG. 26. Pisa, Baptistery: Nicola Pisano, Detail of a Pulpit



FIG. 27. Florence, Uffizi: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, The Presentation in the Temple

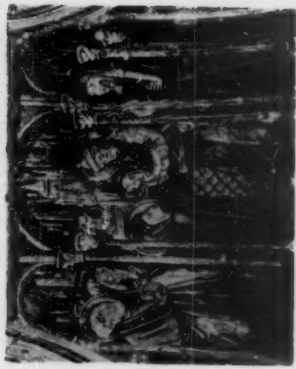


FIG. 28. Orvieto, Cathedral: Ugolino di Vieri da Siena, Reliquary of the S. Corporale



FIG. 29. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum: Stefan Lochner, The Presentation in the Temple



FIG. 30. New York, in the Possession of Mr. Charles F. Ikié: South German Embroidery, Late XVth Century



FIG. 31. Munich, Alte Pinakothek: Rogier van der Weyden, Wing of the St. Columba Altarpiece

receives the Child from his mother. Unlike the imposing scene portrayed by Lorenzetti or the charming doll-like representation by Lochner, Rogier's *Presentation* is imbued with that quality of innate dignity that characterizes all his work. It commemorates a solemn event and the participants are in no way concerned with the spectator. Only the Italianate maid looks out of the picture, but her serious glance is a permission rather than an invitation to the onlooker that he be allowed to witness the event. The wall cut by arches and windows at the right behind the figure of Simeon and the subordination of the altar recall the setting of Altichiero's fresco of the *Presentation* (Fig. 7). Here, for the first time, the spectator is brought inside the building and seems to participate directly in the event instead of witnessing it from the exterior as though it were a mystery play enacted upon a stage.

The figure of the maid in Rogier's St. Columba altarpiece appears again in the *Presentation* from the Weingartner altarpiece by Hans Holbein the Elder, dated 1493, now in the Cathedral at Augsburg.⁸³ And if Rogier's *Presentation* suggests a reversion to the *Hypapante* tradition, the Holbein representation actually does show the meeting at the portal of the Temple. The Holy Family and their attendants stand in the Temple court and a small group representing the *Coronation of the Virgin* appears in the gold sky above the wall of the court. A glimpse of the interior of the Temple, visible through the doorway in which the priest is standing, shows an altar on which are a candle and the tablets of the law. When this composition was copied a few years later by Israhel van Meckenem,⁸⁴ the engraver changed the setting to the more conventional interior of the Temple. This alteration was achieved by continuing the pattern of the tiles across the entire ground space; by transforming the wall into a small scale colonnade with windows, above which is a reduced representation of the *Circumcision*; and by giving more emphasis to the altar behind the High Priest. Holbein's second version appears in the Kaisheimer altarpiece of 1502, now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.⁸⁵ It is interesting because of the attempt to portray the priest's vestments with archaeological accuracy. He wears the tunic whose hem is hung with alternating golden bells and pomegranates, the ephod with its curious girdle, and the engraved plate upon the front of the mitre, similar to the vestments which the Lord commanded Moses to make for Aaron the priest.⁸⁶

83. Reproduced in Curt Glaser, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Leipzig, 1908, pl. XLI.

84. Bartsch 37.

85. Reproduced in Glaser, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, pl. xv.

86. Exodus 27:28. This is, however, not the earliest attempt at an accurate portrayal of the High Priest's vestments. In Jean de Vignay's French translation of the *Legenda Aurea* in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 672-5), written in Bruges 1445-60, the priest to whom Joachim offers a lamb wears a robe hung with round golden balls and a yellow sash knotted in front.

In contrast with these elaborate details of attire, the priest (or possibly Simeon), in Dürer's woodcut of the *Presentation*,⁸⁷ is simply clad. In keeping with this simplicity, the ceremony has been reduced to a comparatively genre-like scene whose importance is still further diminished by its subordination to the architectural elements of the Temple. The action takes place at some distance from the frontal plane of the composition; this, together with the perspective and scale of the figures, brings the spectator well into the pictorial space. A new detail has been introduced in the figure of the kneeling maid who offers a cage of birds at the simple altar. The Virgin with arms crossed on her breast and head humbly bowed is so inconspicuously placed that she might almost pass unnoticed were it not for the gesture of Anna who points a right forefinger at her. The youth behind her, bearing a tall taper, recalls the ceremony of her purification. In its representation of a humble family performing the simple ritual of presenting its firstborn son to God, within the huge and impressive Temple of Jerusalem, this woodcut by Dürer is very close in spirit to the event as narrated in the Gospel of St. Luke.

V

The beginning of the sixteenth century is, of course, a purely arbitrary date with which to close. And it is not possible to refer to all of the many other representations of this subject which by the fifteenth century had become so popular in Northern and Italian art. Our examples throughout were chosen because they seemed to form important steps in the iconographic evolution of the subject. But this evolution is on a relatively limited scale in comparison with the extensive representational development of such a scene, for example, as the Nativity of Christ, an episode which also belongs to the Infancy cycle and the celebration of which is also a major Church festival. This latter representation, which first appeared in the fourth century, was gradually built up of a number of small scenes and includes many figures. These scenes consist of the Adoration of the Ox and the Ass, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the introduction of the figures of Mary and Joseph, the episodes of the Doubting Midwife and the Child's bath, and finally, the addition of the group of adoring angels.⁸⁸ The literary basis of these scenes-within-a-scene is nearly entirely apocryphal, since the simple narrative of the Gospels did not lend itself easily to illustration.

In contrast to this gradual accretion over the years of many pictorial episodes, the first known representation of the subject of the Presentation in the Temple depicts it in the simple basic form which was to remain essentially un-

87. Bartsch 88.

88. E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1918, p. 13.

changed for many centuries. This form consists of four figures symmetrically disposed in pairs at either side of a central altar over which the Child is held (see p. 20). It may be considered a Byzantine invention not only because the Sancta Sanctorum cross (Fig. 2) on which this scene is represented belongs to a period when the tradition of Byzantine art was already established in Rome, but also because the iconography of the other scenes represented on the cross is Byzantine in origin.

A further contrast between the subject of the Presentation and other scenes of the Infancy cycle lies in the fact that the former cannot be subjected to the usual division into a Latin and a Greek iconographic type, except insofar as these types reflect the liturgy of the Western and the Eastern Churches, namely, the scene at the altar within the Temple and the meeting with Simeon outside the Temple. Unlike other subjects of the Infancy cycle, the Presentation was not represented during those first four centuries when Christian art was still dominated by the Latin West. If any such type did exist, it has not been preserved. A local distinction, however, might be made at a later period be-

tween the Byzantine-Italian and the Northern iconographic types. In the North, this consists of the closer identification of the Virgin with the idea of her purification, exemplified by those scenes in which she or her handmaiden carries the sacrificial birds, a function reserved for Joseph in Byzantine-Italian representations. A further characteristic of Northern Presentations is the elimination of the prophetess Anna. In Italian representations of a later period, the figure of the High Priest, sometimes identified with Simeon, is added to the group at the altar; while in both Northern and Italian examples, the chief variations within the traditional framework consist in the transference of the Child from Mary to Simeon who then returns him to his mother again. This action probably reflects the influence of those Eastern and Western liturgical traditions that form the literary basis for the pictorial representation of the Presentation in the Temple.⁸⁹

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89. I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Erwin Panofsky and to Dr. Karl Lehmann for many helpful suggestions.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES: SOME REASONS FOR A REPUTATION

ROBERT GOLDWATER

AMONG the painters of the nineteenth century, the reputation of Puvis de Chavannes is a thing apart.¹ Artists and critics of tradition, the Academy itself, and innovators who were attacking the old school, alike admired and defended him. But though from 1880 to 1900 he was acclaimed in a manner and with a unanimity accorded few modern artists, little that is today considered praiseworthy by either the aesthetic right or left has come out of the manner he established. He was indeed such an isolated figure that his work appears (mistakenly) to have no chronological attachments. Both his origins and his affinities seem obscure; he is difficult to place in relation to his immediate stylistic predecessors, to his contemporaries, or to those few men of the next generation upon whom, in fact, his work did have its measure of effect.

As we will recount below, Puvis' reputation was consecrated in the decade of the 'eighties. He had been exhibiting for some thirty years, but only then did a peculiar combination of circumstances produce the right aesthetic climate for almost universal agreement upon his greatness as an artist. In strange concord, Academicians and symbolists, moralists and decadents joined in hailing him a unique and important artist. As is usually true in such cases, since each group had its own reasons, the supporting arguments were various. Usually too, such unanimity is followed by reaction, but — with few exceptions — the neutral character of Puvis' style aroused no protest, and in a typically vague way his reputation has continued unbroken until today.

August Strindberg, the playwright, in 1885 took note of Puvis' eminence; he summarized it ten years later in his famous letter to Gauguin. It will be remembered that Gauguin had requested a preface for his exhibition of February, 1895, and that Strindberg felt obliged to refuse, explaining that he did not understand Gauguin's exotic art, and contrasting it with Puvis' easily understood allegories.

1. A suggestion from Alfred H. Barr, Jr., started me upon the path of this investigation. I wish to thank him for wondering upon what the reputation of Puvis de Chavannes was based. Puvis has here been evaluated only through the eyes of others; but it is perhaps just to record that in the course of this study my opinion of his art has risen several points.

(Characteristically, Gauguin used the letter of refusal and his own reply for the preface he needed.) Strindberg was well versed in the arts.² He had first come to France on a fellowship as an historian of the minor arts; and intermittently had been an art reporter for the Swedish newspapers. He was himself something more than an amateur painter and had practiced his métier both in France and Sweden, and he was a friend not alone of Gauguin and other Parisian artists of the period, but of such northern painters as Munch, Carl Larsson, and the Berlin *Sezession* group of the early 'nineties. We may thus accept him as an informed and acute observer of the atmosphere of 1885. "Nevertheless," he wrote to Gauguin, "in the midst of the last spasms of naturalism, one name was pronounced by all with admiration, that of Puvis de Chavannes. He stood quite alone, like a contradiction, painting with a believing soul, even while he took a passing notice of the taste of his contemporaries for allusion. (We did not yet possess the term symbolism, a very unfortunate name for so old a thing as allegory.)"³ Thus was Puvis praised at a time when around him were developing the tendencies which formed the foundations of twentieth-century painting — the structural post-impressionism of Cézanne and Seurat, the expressionism of Van Gogh and Gauguin, the symbolism of Redon, the linear decoration of *art nouveau* — tendencies with whose inspiration and stylistic direction Puvis' art had apparently little to do.

As Puvis' fame grew between 1885 and his death in

2. Cf. W. J. McGill, *August Strindberg*, New York, 1930; Ernst Harms, "Der malende Strindberg," *Kunst und Künstler*, XXV, 1927, pp. 342-346. Strindberg's first visit to Paris was in 1876, when he was sent by the library in Stockholm to look up a Swedish manuscript; his second in 1883; this was his third.

3. Paul Gauguin, *Intimate Journals*, tr. by Van Wyck Brooks, New York, 1936, p. 46. The exhibition, really a sale, was held at the Hotel Drouot to raise money for Gauguin's second departure for the South Seas. Strindberg, who at this stage was a socialist (see his letter of May 27, 1887 to Carl Larsson), went, as he explained, to see the *Poor Fisherman* in the Luxembourg: "I contemplated with profound sympathy the poor fisherman, so attentively occupied with watching for the catch that will bring him the faithful love of his wife, who is gathering flowers, and his idle child. That is beautiful!"

1898, there grew with it the indispensable legend of early ridicule, abuse, and neglect on the part of the critics and the public against which he had struggled toward his later glory. "Les débuts de Puvis de Chavannes ont été hérissés de difficultés," wrote his young friend Ary Renan in 1894.⁴ But this sudden turn about in fortune, coming ironically late, or tragically only after the artist's death, while so often the pattern for the nineteenth century, did not hold good for Puvis. Its falsity has not prevented the tradition from persisting; as late as 1928 Camille Mauclair could say, "en disant que la carrière de Puvis commençait [in 1861, when *Peace* and *War* received a second medal], précisons bien, c'est la lutte qui commençait."⁵ He had his critics from the first, to be sure, but also almost from the first he had his defenders. It was a peculiarity characteristic of his apparently anomalous position that, like the later praise, the criticism came from both the conservatives and progressives, but Puvis was never ignored. In both camps, whatever their strictures, whatever their approval, he was treated as an important figure meriting all the expense of journalistic space and critical energy.⁶ From 1852 to 1859, when Puvis sent to the *Salon*, which was not regularly, he was rebuffed; but he had hardly been singled out for undue misfortune, since this was the period of academic intransigence during which Delacroix, Corot, Rousseau, and Millet, all older men, were likewise refused admission.⁷ Antonin Proust recorded that when in 1854 Puvis showed at a private exhibition at the Galerie Bonne Nouvelle, the public laughed at him, but it also made fun of Courbet, by this time an established artist with a European reputation.⁸

Despite this later coupling of their names, the realistic critics, the friends and defenders of Courbet, objected, as one might expect, to both Puvis' subjects and his manner. In 1863 Castagnary criticized the unreality of *Work*: "Je querelle M. Puvis de Chavannes sur sa conception. Ce n'est

pas de ma faute. M. Puvis de Chavannes se présente comme un penseur. Il ne veut rien devoir au coloris; ses grisailles boueuses sont d'un aspect triste et répulsif. Il ne veut devoir que peu de choses au dessin . . ."⁹ For fifteen years, from 1861 to 1876, Castagnary did not cease to attack Puvis along the same lines. Perhaps his most violent criticism came in 1869, when *Marseille: Port de l'Orient* was exhibited at the Salon. "De loin," he wrote, in terms that would at a later day have been praise, "ces colorisages fantastiques font l'effet de cartes de géographie teintées; de près, on s'aperçoit que ce sont des toiles à l'huile, mais peintes d'une main si novice et si pauvre que leur modelé n'atteint pas le relief d'un devant de cheminée. . . . M. Puvis de Chavannes ne dessine ni ne peint, il compose. C'est sa spécialité. Compose-t-il, au moins, comme le fait la nature, avec des êtres vivants, qu'ils soient hommes, animaux ou arbres? Non. . . . Il lui faut pour exprimer ce qu'il appelle son idée, des corps imaginaires, se mouvant dans un milieu imaginaire."¹⁰ The following year, à propos of *St. John the Baptist*, Castagnary's somewhat petulant words seemed to foreshadow later eulogies: "Jamais M. Puvis de Chavannes n'a mieux dessiné que cette année . . . et pourtant quelle grotesque vignette! Un image d'Épinal a certes plus de relief. Les trois figures sont disposées sur le même plan avec des attitudes d'une naïveté qui touche à l'enfance."¹¹

Throughout the years Castagnary's complaint was in the same vein, yet his point of view was not so simple nor so far from today's standards as it at first seems. He was merely seizing upon the obvious aspects of Puvis' style with which to belabor him, and contrary to the literal meaning of his words was asking neither for photographic reality nor academic relief and chiaroscuro. Like the reasoning of Puvis' admirers, Castagnary's objections give us strange evidence of how different were the eyes of critical apprehension only eighty years ago. In all his *Salons* he linked Puvis with artists who today would not be associated with him, whether for praise or blame, but in all of whom (perhaps with some reason) Castagnary saw the same fundamental defect. In 1864 it was Gérôme, Baudry, Cabanel, Bouguereau, and Gustave Moreau who for the critic were all, like Puvis, literary painters whose work needed verbal exegesis. ". . . il faut à l'*Automne* de M. Puvis de Chavannes dix pages de descriptions; il faut à l'*Oedipe* de M. Gustave Moreau, un volume de commentaires."¹² In 1866 it was Cabanel, Gérôme, and Moreau again; in 1869 Puvis, "qui fait sourire," was joined with Bonnat, "qui fait pleurer."¹³ Of all these artists there was nothing to be said, "parce que chez eux qualités et défauts sont également

4. Ary Renan, "Puvis de Chavannes à propos d'un livre récent," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XXXVIII, January, 1896, pp. 79-85.

5. Camille Mauclair, *Puvis de Chavannes*, Paris, 1928, p. 9. Puvis was given the Legion of Honor as early as 1867; after the Panthéon decorations he was made officer; after the Sorbonne, commander.

6. It should be remembered that lengthy verbal transcriptions of pictures were still the habit of the *Salon* reviewers of this period. These stemmed from (a) the relative lack of illustrations; (b) an interest in the subject-matter represented which could be minutely described; (c) the fact that many of the journalists were authors of repute interested in writing for its own sake; (d) relatively fewer artists exhibiting and places to exhibit. Even taking all this into account, from 1861 on Puvis got a great deal of attention.

7. Puvis began to paint rather late; he first sent to the *Salon* in 1850, when he was twenty-six, a *Pietà* rather baroque-romantic in style, which was accepted. Puvis did not forget his experience of rejection during the 'fifties, and later refused to serve on juries which he considered too strict.

8. Antonin Proust, "Salon de 1882, I," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXV, June, 1882, pp. 542-543. Courbet had the good fortune to be *hors concours* (for a medal won in 1849), else he too would have been rejected by *Salon* juries.

9. Castagnary, *Salons 1867-1870*, Paris, 1892, I, pp. 129-130.

10. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 334-335.

11. *Ibid.*, I, p. 420.

12. *Ibid.*, I, p. 209.

13. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 221, 329.

de convention."¹⁴ With them, Castagnary contrasted those who, he felt, were the truly living, contemporary artists, creators of the "grand style" of his day, worthy successors to the great decorators of the Renaissance — Courbet, Millet, Jules Breton, and their *confrères*. In other words, Castagnary and Thoré-Burger (an equally militant defender of realism who at one time thought Puvis gave promise, but later found him pale, anaemic and unreal) condemned in him precisely what a later generation applauded, his vagueness and his "idealism."¹⁵

Charles Blanc, recent founder of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1859), was a more detached observer whose own taste ran along more conservative lines, but he understood the realist point of view. Discussing the Salon of 1866 in his magazine he commented in a somewhat superior way upon Puvis' offerings and the realists' objections: "Aussi, pour ne pas nous brouiller à tout jamais avec les naturalistes [read Courbet and the realists whom he has just mentioned], nous leur concéderons que les camaïeux de M. Puvis de Chavannes sont trop pâles, trop effacés; que ce sont des figures rêvées plutôt que peintes."¹⁶ But he excused Puvis on the grounds that his work suffered from the strident competition of the *Salon*, and thought it would look well in its proper setting of a small private house.

The criticism of Castagnary and the realists, however, was exceptional, and we must not conclude that Puvis had an unduly hard time of it. He earned little money from his art, to be sure, but he had a competence upon which to live, and he painted easel pictures only incidentally.¹⁷ From 1861 on the poet Gautier was an ardent champion. Puvis would hardly seem to be an artist for whom "le monde

extérieur existait," according to Gautier's own definition of himself; but the poet was more eclectic in his journalistic enthusiasms than his chiselled novels would lead us to believe.¹⁸ In general the reviewers of the right did not find Puvis without faults, but from 1861 on they gave him an attention usually reserved for those for whom they had only praise, describing his works at length, allowing him one of the few illustrations at their disposal, and altogether treating him as someone who with their advice and counsel would be guided toward an important future.¹⁹ Léon Lagrange, for example, in his review of the Salon of 1861 — when Puvis was awarded a medal of the second class — wrote on Cabanel, Baudry, and Puvis together in a separate section of his article, and by putting Puvis in this company he intended praise. He devoted more than two pages to discussing Puvis' work, and reproduced both of his entries for that year, *Peace* and *War*, besides a pen drawing called *La Fantaisie*.²⁰ Lagrange praised the painter's "grande idée," advised him to free himself of the influence of Couture, which he saw above all in the languorous expressions, and then went on to say: "Nous y voyons l'essor d'une pensée forte, puissamment servie par un dessin énergique et fier. Il a l'amour du grand, le respect et le désir du beau, un goût relevé sinon très-juste, le caractère, l'accent, l'expression d'ensemble. Il lui manque une couleur et une exécution à la hauteur de ses visées."

Similarly four years later (1865), Paul Mantz was full of the same sort of friendly advice. He was hopeful about the future, for he found the artist on a happier road than in the past: "Il nous semble, que le peintre, qui jusqu'à présent s'était contenté d'inqu岸rer sommairement ses figures par un modelé vraiment trop abrégé, s'est préoccupé davantage du dessin intérieur. C'est un progrès réel, est-il nous permis d'espérer que M. Puvis pourra un jour compléter, par un travail nouveau, aux lacunes de son éducation première. Il a aujourd'hui l'instinct du dessin, il n'en possède pas la science. Pour le coloris il lui reste beaucoup à apprendre, . . . on ne joue pas à la couleur comme on joue au loto."²¹ Even as late as 1875 (when Puvis was over fifty) such a timid critic as Anatole de Montaiglon was still

14. Castagnary's taste conformed more closely to what would be considered good taste today than that of his contemporaries. Except for an occasional lapse like Jules Breton, whom he clearly liked because of his subject-matter, Castagnary's point of view was consistent, and not made up of — to us — shocking eclecticism.

15. W. Bürger, *Salons de W. Bürger 1861-1868*, Paris, 1870, I, pp. 41-42, 379; II, pp. 24-25, 187. "Son coloris pâle tient toujours de la fresque et laisse l'effet trop vague." "Soit dit en passant, M. Puvis de Chavannes, dont on vante avec une certaine raison les peintures décoratives pour le Musée d'Amiens, serait pourtant mieux de son époque et dans les tendances de l'art moderne, s'il eût représenté des travailleurs picards tels qu'ils sont, au lieu de les allégoriser en figures déshabillées. Je n'ai jamais vu, même en Picardie, les jeunes filles toutes nues courir avec des paniers de fruits sur la tête. Que M. de Chavannes en fasse venir la mode, à la bonne heure!" (II, 187).

16. Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1866, I," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XX, June, 1866, pp. 512-513. But Blanc had no love of realism for its own sake. He began the passage on Puvis: "On conçoit le réalisme comme une réaction, et sans l'aimer alors, on se l'explique. Mais, en vérité, jamais réaction ne fût plus inopportune et plus inutile. . . ." Why? Because Gérault had already established it, and Courbet's banner was simply *de trop*.

17. It was in great measure this competence which made possible Puvis' famous isolation (as being above the battle), allowed him to spend a year or so upon uncommissioned mural compositions, and to pursue his own stylistic road.

18. Théophile Gautier, *Abécédaire du Salon de 1861*, Paris, 1861, pp. 102-106. On Gautier's approach to his journalist's métier, see the *Journal* of the Goncourt brothers. Gautier thought that but for the economic necessity which forced him to continue his journalism, he might have been one of the four great men of the century.

19. At this date illustrations were still engravings. Not only were they rare, but each meant asking the artist for a drawing, since it was not usually the custom to have the *Salon* picture directly copied in engraving.

20. Léon Lagrange, "Le Salon de 1861," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, X, May, 1861, pp. 208-210.

21. Paul Mantz, "Le Salon de 1865, I," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XVIII, June, 1865, pp. 493-494. Puvis' picture for this year was *Ave, Picardie Nutrix*.

hoping that Puvis might, after all, develop into the conventional Beaux-Arts painter, and still giving him advice: "Je regrette de ne pas pouvoir louer pleinement les toiles de M. Puvis de Chavannes. . . . Dans les oeuvres de l'art, l'intelligence et l'idée ne peuvent s'exprimer, ne peuvent même pas subsister, que si elles sont soutenues sinon par la complète beauté, au moins par la justesse de la forme."²² Puvis of course had laid himself open to this kind of criticism by the shortness of his official academic training and the fact that he had never been a *Prix de Rome*. All the more curious, therefore, is the respectful tone in which this advice was given, with its implication of Puvis as an artist apart, and the constant coupling of his name with Cabanel, Bouguereau, and the other leading academic lights.

But Montaignon's criticism was, so to speak, *retardataire*. In general, this note of regret at all that Puvis had missed, of advice on how to improve and round out his style, had disappeared by the middle 'seventies. Not that the critics now began to discover objective qualities that they and their predecessors had earlier overlooked, but rather that characteristics formerly held to be defects demanding remedy had now become virtues calling for praise. It is important for an understanding of Puvis' later reputation and influence to note that now for the first time the simplicity of the artist's style and the naïveté of the artist himself (the latter naturally though not necessarily correctly deduced from the former) became positive assets. Thus in 1874 Louis Gonse compared Puvis with a certain Matjeko, a Polish painter who had fully learned the chiaroscuro language of the academic schools: "Nous savons parfaitement tout ce qu'il y a de science et d'habileté dans l'exécution de M. Matjeko, d'insuffisance et de naïveté dans celle de M. Puvis; mais comme nous mesurons la peinture monumentale plutôt à la grandeur de l'idée qu'à la perfection du faire, l'oeuvre du peintre français nous émeut incomparablement plus."²³ In the *Charles Martel* (which he reproduced), Gonse found "sentiment et dignité," "grâce et chasteté," and "énergie sauvage." And then — for the modern taste this is the recurrent surprise of these contemporary judgments, the invariable of varying criticisms — he went on to praise as Puvis' worthy companions, the *Christ* of Bonnat, a nude of Carolus-Duran, and the work of Henner and similar academic painters. In 1877, Paul Leroi, writing in *L'Art*, praised the Panthéon decorations as continuing the line of the great murals of the past, particularly in the manner in which Puvis had married his paintings to the style and architecture of the building: ". . . Son panneau principal est coupé par les colonnes du temple, mais le sujet est si intelligemment distribué, la tonalité adoptée se marie

si bien à l'accent de ces colonnes que celles-ci, loin de nuire à l'oeuvre du peintre, contribuent vraiment à le faire valoir."²⁴ Leroi was interested in what the architecture did to the paintings; he was not yet concerned with how the painting affected the architecture; as we will see, it was twenty years before Puvis' solution of this problem became a major concern of the critics, and a factor in Puvis' reputation.

By the beginning of the 'eighties all doubts were gone. An energetic protest by Chennevières after Puvis had prepared the cartoon for *Ludus Pro Patria* (Amiens Museum) at his own expense forced the state to acquire the finished picture in 1882. From then on the official commissions multiplied: for the Palais des Arts in Lyon (1883), for the Sorbonne (1887), for the Boston Museum (1891).²⁵ Only Puvis' former friend Edmond About turned on him with savage attacks. About was a champion of Baudry, and unlike most of the critics he felt that praise of one called for denigration of the other. In this, for whatever personal reasons, he approached modern taste more closely than the majority of his colleagues. In 1883, after the showing of *Ludus Pro Patria*, About wrote: "Depuis vingt ans Puvis nous promet un chef d'oeuvre, qu'il n'exécutera jamais, car il ne sait ni peindre ni dessiner, et il promène fièrement dans tous les coins du domaine de l'art son ignorance encyclopédique."²⁶ After which Puvis understandably refused even to talk to him.

But by this time all the other critics were convinced that, as Kenyon Cox was to write later, "Puvis is successful because of his apparent shortcomings." In the same year as About, and à propos of the same picture, for which Puvis had won a medal of honor at the *Salon*, Antonin Proust, who the year before had seen to it that Manet, already a sick man, was awarded the Legion of Honor, gave him fulsome praise in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, and incidentally planted the seeds of the legend of his early neglect. "Devant les compositions de M. Puvis de Chavannes . . . on peut justement critiquer le dessin et la couleur," he began, as any critic might have during the two preceding decades. But, he went on, "ce qu'on ne peut contester, c'est l'effet obtenu précisément par les sacrifices voulus dans le dessin et dans la couleur. Ce que l'on est également forcé de reconnaître c'est que l'allure générale de la composition est le plus souvent d'une incomparable grandeur, et qu'elle est toujours juste. Quand un artiste montre à un tel degré

22. Anatole de Montaiglon, "Le Salon de 1875," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XI, June, 1875, pp. 514-515.

23. Louis Gonse, "Le Salon de 1874," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, IX, June, 1874, pp. 508-509.

24. Paul Leroi, "Le Salon de 1877," *L'Art*, X, 1877, pp. 151-153.

25. Puvis had already, in 1877, been one of the artists commissioned for the decoration of the Panthéon. Cf. Marius Vachon, *Puvis de Chavannes*, Paris, 1896, pp. 47-48. In 1882 Bonnat himself had bought *Doux Pays*, now in the museum at Bayonne.

26. About had already begun to contrast Baudry with Puvis in 1880. His increased invective was probably the result of Puvis' fast-growing reputation.

une qualité de cet ordre il est vraiment hors de pair."²⁷ At that late date Proust's opinion was far from exceptional; but as if to prove how representative his tastes really were, in the same article he praised the work of Baudry and Manet, and — what Manet himself could hardly have approved — the portraits of Bonnat.

Five years later, in 1888, André Michel went even further. He suggested that the flatness of Puvis' figures resulted from a "disposition toute physiologique," and that Puvis' style owed its peculiarities to defects of eyesight. (One is reminded of the discussions on the optics of El Greco and his elongated figures.) But like Proust and unlike the earlier writers, Michel was not inclined to regret this circumstance, because the enforced limitation of aesthetic means enabled Puvis to formulate "quelques grandes expressions plastiques, qui veulent des silhouettes résumées et synthétisées, des lignes très simples, disciplinées et associées dans des ensembles composées. . . ."²⁸ Thus, argued Michel, Puvis was *unknowingly* compelled to put into practice the theoretical truth that art is not imitation, but the heightening of some aspects of reality, and the simultaneous elimination of others. A curiously back-handed argument, but one that would not, in 1888, by any means detract from Puvis' growing reputation.

By the 'nineties Puvis' triumph was complete. On the one hand he was altogether accepted by the Academy and the men with whom the critics had always associated him were now proud to have their names joined with his; on the other, the younger generation, the artists — both painters and writers — of symbolism, saw in Puvis a champion of their cause, a champion all the more worthy because he had, or so they thought, won through against the same kind of opposition they themselves now faced. Early in 1895 a dinner was given for Puvis, originally sponsored by the artists of the *Salon* of the Champ de Mars. Held at the Hotel Continental, five hundred and fifty painters, sculptors, poets, writers, and critics were present.²⁹ It is interesting and enlightening to see who in the world of the plastic arts came, just fifty years ago, to honor Puvis. The list was long, and undoubtedly included many who attended because it was important to be there, in itself indicative of the heights Puvis had reached. Rodin presided. M. Leygues, the Minister of Fine Arts, attended and spoke. Official art was further represented by Tony Robert-Fleury for the *Société des Artistes Français*, and Carolus-Duran and Cazin, vice-presidents of the *Société Nationale*

des Beaux-Arts. Rodin's friend Carrière of course was there, and Carrière's friend Meunier, and the portraitist Braquemond. These are not surprising, nor are Besnard (himself much given to allegories), and the Americans MacMonnies, Walter Gay, and Eugene Vail. But Boudin and Renoir also were there, and the even more unpromising realists Pissarro and Forain. And finally came the *fin de siècle*, with such unexpected names as Gauguin and Rops, Aman-Jean and Van Rysselberghe. Thus the diners made up a complete cross-section of artistic opinion.

Among the writers, however, the preponderance of the new stylistic generation was strikingly evident. It is true that Zola attended; while Heredia of the Parnassians and Anatole France sent their regrets. But among the others were Mallarmé, patron saint of all the symbolists, the critic Edouard Schuré, and the poets Gustave Kahn, Georges Rodenbach, and René Ghil. Tradition, on the other hand, was well (for some, too well) represented in the person of Ferdinand Brunetière, editor of the *Revue des deux mondes*. Brunetière had been announced as a speaker, and his presence aroused such opposition among the younger men that, as *La Plume* reported, "La jeunesse, la littérature d'art, dirons plutôt s'est abstenue en masse."³⁰ What was their reason for staying away? Brunetière was a traditionalist and a conservative; he was opposed to them and they to him. Glad to come to celebrate with Puvis, in whom, though he was now over seventy, they perceived a figure akin to themselves in revolutionary spirit, they objected to his being honored by a man who had done so much to discourage the proponents of a new method and a new expression. In their eyes Puvis did not belong to the naturalism of the 'sixties and the 'seventies, still less to the traditionalism of the Rue Bonaparte (whose literary counterpart Brunetière embodied), against both of which he, like they, had struggled, but rather to the new allegory and symbolism of Mallarmé, his literary disciples, and his associates in painting and sculpture.

La Plume, which with *La Revue blanche* was the organ of the younger generation, both in literature and in the graphic and applied arts, did more than report the dinner of 1895. It devoted a whole number to a eulogy of Puvis and a history of his life and art. In addition, it collaborated with the *Mercur de France* (another recent publication), *La Revue blanche*, *L'Ermitage*, *La Société nouvelle*, *Idée libre*, and *Art et la vie* in publishing an *Album des poètes* dedicated to the master.³¹ And here almost exclusively were the spokesmen of *l'art idéaliste*: Verlaine and Mallarmé, Moréas and René Ghil, Adolphe Retté and Gustave

27. Antonin Proust, *loc. cit.*

28. André Michel, "L'exposition de M. Puvis de Chavannes," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxvii, January, 1888, pp. 36-38. This was the only time that this sort of physiologic criticism, with its implications of a basically realistic aesthetic, was applied to Puvis. It has of course become a common method of derogation in twentieth century criticism.

29. Cf. *La Plume*, vii, no. 138, January 15, 1895.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

31. On the literary activity of *La Plume*, and its relation to other magazines of the period, cf. William K. Cornell, "La Plume and the Poetry of the Nineties," *Yale Romanic Studies*, xviii, New Haven, 1941, pp. 33-53.

Kahn, Verhaeren and Veilé-Griffin and Stuart Merrill, and finally two who now seem to belong to a style and an attitude much closer to the uncertainties of the twentieth century than Puvis' quiet and traditional assurance — Alfred Jarry and Saint-Pol Roux. At first glance it seems strange that they should have found inspiration in so classical a master.

What was Puvis' own opinion toward this unexpected support from among the artists of "le raffiné"? Our only information comes from the opposition, but in view of the distance between Puvis' art and the style of the new school, the conversations they have reported seem plausible enough to accept as accurate. Laran tells us that when the *Album des poètes* was shown to the master, he remarked, "There is never a piece of lunacy published but it is sent to me as its patron as of right."³² And Ary Renan, himself of the younger generation but no friend of the *fin de siècle*, records the same sort of response: "On a déjà voulu s'abriter derrière ce drapeau; on a appris au maître étonné . . . qu'il était le chef d'une école spiritualiste, mystique, symboliste, et éthérée. Il a répondu qu'il ne prêchait en art qu'une doctrine saine, pure, et sans arcanes."³³ In other words, and this is not without its importance, Puvis insisted upon being the simple, uncomplicated artist.

We have other evidence besides that detailed above on the extent to which Puvis had been taken up by the new generation which saw in him the peculiar combination of a respected, established artist in sympathy with its anti-realistic cause. In 1896 Paul Adam, one of the spokesmen of the tendency, praised Puvis' drawings, "voix peut-être inconsciente de l'humanité pensive."³⁴ "Nous souffrons," he said, "parce que nous pensons au fragment de la vie, parce que nos peintres ont 'traité' le morceau. Il convient, au contraire, de la composer. Il convient de réunir ses éléments divers, d'établir des sommes, de grouper des joies tempérées par le rappel du chagrin, mais fortes aussi de se sentir délivrées de sa gêne." This, Adam felt, Puvis had done, particularly in the Boston murals, in which he mastered "L'art et l'oeuvre de traduire une pensée par un symbole." Paul Adam was not alone; as early as 1883 Sar Peladan, mystical leader of the *Rose-Croix*, and in the 'nineties Tëodor de Wyzewa, Wagnerite and propagandist for symbolism, discovered in Puvis a style and an intention in harmony with their symbolic conception of what art should be.³⁵

The success of this attempt to assimilate Puvis to the new style may further be gauged by the strength of the protest voiced against it by the critics not in sympathy with the idealist-symbolist movement. Gustave Geffroy, writing in *La Vie artistique* in 1896, decided that Puvis' art was admirable because it was built upon "ces conceptions de plus en plus résumées, simples, accessibles, où semble se réaliser sans effort ce style tant réclamé, dont on a fait un tel abus théorique. . . . Si quelqu'un est loin des complications, des agencements, des obscurités symbolistes, c'est bien cet artiste."³⁶ Moreover Geffroy was happy to find in the studies for the Boston murals (which were shown in the *Salon* of 1896) proof that in spite of their simplified drawing Puvis' figures were not creatures of the imagination but did after all have "pour dessous, pour base, l'étude scrupuleuse et continue de la nature." Ary Renan reassured himself and his public in the same way. The master's painting is a healthy art, he said, and obviously has nothing to do with the new fads, because, when all is said, it is based on "l'étude infiniment patiente de la nature."³⁷

Some years later, in a jointly written book, André Michel and Jean Laran were even more emphatic. Laran's opinion was that the *Rose-Croix* did not even possess the right to praise Puvis; and he was indignant at the ridiculous parallels drawn between the master and Mallarmé.³⁸ Michel, protecting Puvis' reputation from those who would soil it by their association, was positively abusive: "The scullions to whom I have alluded twisted Brunetière's words [presumably in his speech at the dinner we have mentioned above] to their own uses; they saw, or pretended to see, in Puvis a great initiate, a revealer of the 'sense of mystery,' the wonderful mystery of which they pretended to have the key. . . . No, Puvis had no thought of disentangling any 'ulterior' or 'hidden' or esoteric meaning from Nature. . . . He restored the imagination of the French to the straight, broad road. May those who have followed his example never slumber under the drowsy syrup of dreams, nor lose themselves in a maze of subtle meanings. . . ." Comparing these judgments with the earlier ones that have been cited, we can see how in the course of a quarter of a century the conservative critics had reversed themselves. Where before they had praised his conceptions, found his ideas admirable, though often vague,

the ceiling project of the *Victor Hugo*. Even Wyzewa, for all his "idealism" and his Wagnerism, in the next paragraph praises the "beauté formelle," and "science impeccable" of Bonnat's portraits. In 1883 the Sar Peladan wrote, "When one compares the *Bois Sacré* with all the other exhibits, one is forced unreservedly to proclaim Puvis de Chavannes the greatest master of our time." Quoted in Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

36. Gustave Geffroy in *La Vie artistique*, v, September, 1896, pp. 98-100.

37. Ary Renan, *loc. cit.*

38. Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 83, and pp. xiv-xv.

32. André Michel, *Puvis de Chavannes. Notes by Jean Laran*, London, 1912, p. 84. Laran does not mention the *Album des poètes* by name, but the dates are such that his remarks can only refer to it.

33. Ary Renan, *loc. cit.*

34. Paul Adam, "Les Salons de 1896, II," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxviii, July, 1896, p. 28.

35. Cf. Tëodor de Wyzewa, "Le Salon de 1894. La peinture," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxxv, June, 1894, p. 456, where he praises

and respected his ultimate didactic intention while regretting the insufficiency of his rendering, they now defended him against the accusation of any complicated meanings, and maintained that his art was after all nothing but a simple and purified transposition of nature.

Joris Karl Huysmans himself gives us his own spectacular kind of evidence as to how far the exponents of the *fin de siècle* (a term we are told Puvis abhorred) had tried to appropriate the painter to their own ends. The author of *À Rebours* was of course an ardent defender of symbolism, mystery, and decadence, and he devoted much of his peculiarly brilliant prose style to explaining the aims and conveying the mood of the musical and pictorial masterpieces of the new anti-naturalism. For Huysmans the work of Gustave Moreau embodied the highest aims of the new *genre*, and he did not countenance the kind of eclecticism which pretended to admire both Delacroix and Bastien-Lepage, Moreau and Bonnat, Degas and Gervex. He could not (like Castagnary, whom we have quoted above) permit Moreau's name to be sullied by having it joined with that of Puvis.³⁹ He had to protest what he called "une tentative de concubinage essayée, cette fois, par de jeunes écrivains dont la bonne foi ne saurait être mise en doute. L'accolement 'dans le raffiné' des noms de M. Puvis de Chavanne[s] et de M. Moreau. M. Puvis de Chavanne[s] est un habitué des omnibus de l'art, car chaque année, il ne manque pas de s'installer en bien mauvaise compagnie, sur les cymaises. Comparé à ses voisins de banquettes, aux Boulanger, aux Cabanel, aux Gérôme, aux Tony Robert-Fleury, et aux Henner [artists with whom, as we have seen, his conservative admirers too, had linked Puvis' name], ces fidèles intendants préposés à la garde des anciennes formules, ces vigilants conservateurs du musée de la clicherie humaine, il apparaît comme un peintre extraordinaire, presque comme un foudre." Sometimes Puvis can be rated passable, as in the *Poor Fisherman*, or the little canvas of *Autumn*; but even if he has occasionally painted "quelques toiles pas trop élimées, quelques charpies quasi fraîches," he has by no means contributed any new note to the style of the time. On the contrary, Huysmans finished, with his usual magnificent purple passage, Puvis has not, like Moreau, avoided "des tricheries académiques," but has quite simply robbed the Italian primitives; "là où les gens du moyen-âge étaient croyants et naïfs, il a apporté la singerie de la foi, le retors de la simplesse; au fond, c'est un bon vivant dont le famélisme de peinture nous dupe, c'est un vieux rigaudon qui s'essaie dans les requiem!" Puvis, after all a somewhat timid man, must have been astounded

by such a savage invention. Perhaps Huysmans was goaded into his attack by the delicacy with which most critics from the start had handled Puvis and his work, a delicacy which grew from an identification, not of his painting, but of the subjects of his painting with the man himself, and which Puvis was careful to nurture by his aloofness from the battle.⁴⁰

The reader may have observed that among all the arguments advanced for the great decorations, the modern note had not yet been sounded in their favor. With but one isolated exception, Puvis' ability as an illustrator of flat architectural surfaces whose structural quality must on no account be impaired had not yet been pleaded for his talent.⁴¹ (Puvis himself was supposed to have said, "si vous vous f... de la muraille, la muraille vous vomira," and his work gives us every reason to suppose that he was always conscious of the problem.⁴² But the critical reports of Puvis' saying only come to us late, when, after the artist's death, the interest in the holding of the picture-plane in general, and especially the surface of a mural decoration had become common ground.)

Now at the end of the century this quality too, this very lack of relief which was criticized in the 'sixties and the 'seventies, was brought forward as a positive asset. Though it was remarked upon in France, for example by Alphonse Germain in 1895, when he said, "La compréhension du mur, nul ne l'eut mieux . . . ;" it was above all two Americans who added this final note of praise.⁴³ In 1895, in an article in the *Century Magazine*, Kenyon Cox declared, "The two supreme painters of our age are Baudry and Puvis de Chavannes."⁴⁴ (He was thus still well within the taste of his time.) He went on to explain that not everyone could understand Puvis' style, which was "certainly of a sort to be 'caviar to the general.'" The purpose of his article was to show how it was possible that Puvis should at the same time be accused of having omitted all drawing, modelling, and color by some, and be acclaimed as a master of these qualities by others: "To explain these seeming contradictions, to show the reason of the omissions in his work, which do not arise from ignorance but are distinctly wilful

40. This was before Huysmans himself, in *En Route* (1895), *La Cathédrale* (1898), and his later works, strove to attain a medieval mysticism, and became interested in incubuses and succubuses.

41. In 1864, Gautier had high praise for *Autumn* (Lyon Museum): "The general tonality of the picture is maintained in that fresco color scheme affected by the artist, which is so admirably suited to decorative painting. It is clear, bright, without strong shadows which make holes in the walls. . . ."

42. Leon Werth, *Puvis de Chavannes*, Paris, 1926, p. 43.

43. *La Plume*, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

44. Kenyon Cox, "Puvis de Chavannes," *Century Magazine*, LI, 1895, pp. 558 ff. Cox above all has praise for Baudry's Paris Opera House decorations — rather difficult to understand, since Baudry certainly does not have respect for the flatness of the wall, or the building structure.

39. J. K. Huysmans, *Certains*, Paris, 1889, pp. 14-17. In 1881 Huysmans had written of the *Poor Fisherman*, ". . . in spite of it all I feel a certain pity and indulgence, for it is the work of a pervert, but it is also the work of a sincere artist who despises the public."

. . . To begin with one must remember that Puvis is above all things a decorator. . . . Puvis is successful *because* of his apparent shortcomings. . . . In mural painting this thing, the wall, and its essential qualities of flatness and extent should be accentuated, not concealed. . . . At first sight the drawing (in Puvis' mural compositions) may seem simple and childish, and one may think it easy to do the like; but there is the knowledge of a lifetime in these grand lines, and they are simple as only a Greek statue is simple." His argument was perhaps mild in tone, but the trend of Cox's reasoning foreshadowed something of the aesthetic of the twentieth century, and some of the reasons for the high favor that Puvis has continued to enjoy.

Four years later, in 1900, John La Farge, in *Scribner's Magazine*, wrote that he had admired Puvis for nearly forty years, and prided himself upon never having had the doubts of his genius that had been so current in France.⁴⁵ Like Cox, La Farge felt that Puvis had "helped the appreciation of what painting on the wall should be: its clinging to the surface and its being easily taken in with the wall in the same key." Besides this achievement, he admired the nature of Puvis' allegories precisely because they are not amenable to literary definition: "Nothing could be farther from literary ideas than his simple types of meaning. They were all rebuilt from an inner consciousness and appreciation of what is purely plastic, and an intention as general as the very words which we use to designate general ideas. In a certain sense, therefore, his allegories and representation of ideas are nearer to the representation of these ideas than the allegorical figures of most painters. They resist the wish of the critic to bring them to definite limitation. . . ." As we shall see, La Farge's ideas upon the separation of literary and pictorial symbolism tended in the same direction as Gauguin's; but where La Farge thought that Puvis had succeeded, Gauguin thought that he had failed.

These two American opinions, both pregnant with suggestion in the light of the later evolution of subject-matter and meaning in painting, may serve to represent Puvis' rise from national to international fame, and the opening of the twentieth century, a new period with new standards of evaluation which we do not propose to follow here. We have outlined the growth of forty years of criticism, from close to the beginnings of Puvis' style in 1861 to 1900, two years after his death. It would seem permissible to summarize the evolution of Puvis' reputation and to relate it to the significant elements of his style as we see them today, and to the development of painting in the years immediately following his death.

45. John La Farge, "Puvis de Chavannes," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXVIII, 1900, pp. 672-684. It should be noted that though comparing his work to ancient frescoes, no one yet asked Puvis to paint in fresco. This he had done only once, as a young man, when in 1854-58, he decorated the walls, both inside and outside, of his brother's house at Cuiseaux.

One factor is at any rate apparent: by 1890 at the latest, probably by 1885, Puvis' art, so full of allegories, had itself taken on the power of a symbol. It had become an inspiration for a new artistic direction, for the reaction against fifty years of close observation of the details of the external world; it was at once the starting point toward the new goal to be achieved, and, by its existence, proof that the goal might be attained. Thus the enthusiasm it aroused went far beyond the qualities which an objective judgment would have found that it contained. Interesting evidence of this psychology is offered us by one of the enthusiasts themselves, T  dore de Wyzewa, founder with Edouard Dujardin of the *Revue Wagn  rienne* and an important critical member of the symbolist circle.⁴⁶ In 1894, *   propos* of an exhibition of Puvis' works he wrote in self-analysis: ". . . Dans les tableaux de M. Puvis de Chavannes, nous admirons autre chose que ce qui y est . . . , cette peinture . . . repr  sente pour nous autre chose qu'elle-m  me. Elle repr  sente pour nous, je crois, une r  action contre des exc  s contraires dont nous avons fini par nous fatiguer. En peinture comme en litt  rature, un moment est venu, il y a quelques ann  es, o   nous avons eu assez et trop de r  alisme . . . [We must not forget that Mallarm  's poetry and French enthusiasm for Wagner go back into the 'seventies.] Une soir nous a pris de r  ve, d'  motion, de po  sie. Satur  s d'une lumi  re trop vive et trop crue, nous avons aspir   au brouillard. Et c'est alors que nous nous sommes passionn  ment attach  s    l'art po  tique de M. de Chavannes. Nous en avons aim   jusqu'   ses pires d  fauts, jusqu'aux erreurs de dessin et jusqu'au manque de couleurs, . . . nous nous sommes attach  s    lui comme des malades    un traitement nouveau."⁴⁷

Such worship as Wyzewa here records, and whose external evidence we have already examined, though it went far beyond the discoverable characteristics of Puvis' art, was of course not unrelated to them. Seen historically, Puvis served as a connecting link between the period of romanticism, particularly in its neo-classic phase, and the symbolist generation. Though he began to paint in the decade of the 'fifties, when "realism" was in the ascendant, and developed his personal language of expression in the 'sixties, when realism was evolving into impressionism, Puvis was virtually untouched by either of them.⁴⁸ He said

46. Wyzewa, one of the intimates of Mallarm  's Tuesdays, was a literary and music critic, and propagandist of Wagner's "philosophy" along with Dujardin and Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

47. T  dore de Wyzewa, "Une exposition de Puvis de Chavannes (1894)," *Peintres de jadis et d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1910, pp. 364-370.

48. The *Prodigal Son* and the *Poor Fisherman* would seem to have something of Millet in them, however. Perhaps also the story, apocryphal or not, that the introduction of the prodigal son was only an afterthought, a thematic excuse for painting the pigs in the background, Puvis having admired them at a local farmer's (Vachon, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

of his two weeks of study with Delacroix that it was the most he could endure. Nevertheless he had great admiration for Chassériau, whose style was derived as much from Delacroix as from Ingres, and many of Puvis' figures are visibly under Chassériau's influence while his broad conception of the mural art is akin to the ideal of Ingres' pupils. Puvis was not the only figure to bridge the gap between 1830 and 1880. Rodolphe Bresdin served in much the same capacity for Redon, and Redon himself, somewhat older than the new generation of painters, acted as a partial link for the younger men; while Gustave Moreau, who was another admirer of Chassériau and the now destroyed frescoes of the Cour des Comptes in the Hotel de Ville fired the imagination of many a poet of symbolism.⁴⁹ Thus it came about that the traditionalists of the École des Beaux-Arts, who had never accepted the work of the impressionists, and the innovators of the *fin de siècle*, two schools of thought in themselves bitterly opposed, could at length unite upon the virtues and the greatness of Puvis' art. The former slowly agreed to overlook his "defects" since his was at least a partial return to *la belle nature*; while for the latter he embodied a return to the imagination and an art drawn from the creative power of the individual mind.

It is not within our purpose here to discuss the qualities of Puvis' art in detail, either in its origins, which were various, or in its intrinsic merits, which were great. We are dealing with it only in so far as it, or a conception of it, affected his contemporaries. As a matter of fact, Puvis' manner of painting was extremely variable; often, and particularly at the beginning, it was directly in the line of French seventeenth-century classicism and obviously under the influence of Poussin and Claude.⁵⁰ One of the interesting anomalies of the criticism of these first works is that these two names were never mentioned in relation to Puvis, although it was clearly this inheritance which at length reconciled the Academy, since however weak it was preferable to drastic innovations. What strikes us today after

reading a hostile critic like Castagnary or any of the more friendly ones is how full and round Puvis' figures in these early paintings are, and how much perspective and modelling his compositions contain. In the later works, particularly from 1880 on, the flat surface treatment increases, and with it the very general resemblance to certain features of the Italian primitives, about which so much has been written that is beside the point.⁵¹ Within this period of Puvis' *oeuvre* are contained the immediate origins not alone of the milder spirits of the next generation, like Maurice Denis and Aman-Jean who after first participating in then reacted against the extremes of their contemporaries, but also of some of the qualities of the radicals as well.⁵² Gauguin admitted an "immense respect" for Puvis, and their styles were similar enough in the treatment of flat areas so Gauguin could include a copy of the *Hope* within one of his own paintings.

Used as we are to later extremes, Puvis' simplifications seem very mild to us today, yet they are of greater importance than their limited formal influence upon the painters just mentioned. Almost alone among the painters of the middle of the nineteenth century Puvis foreshadowed a major development of the twentieth: the simplification and reduction of the means of the artist. It is true that other painters and groups such as the Nazarenes and the Pre-Raphaelites talked a great deal of a return to simpler and "purer" methods. But they compensated for a reduction in spatial extension, chiaroscuro, and modelling by an elaboration of linear pattern, an emphasis on the fine quality of the line itself, a detailed rendering of the material setting, and a story-telling multiplication of the figures. In their own way they were part of and contributed to the minute, realistic vision characteristic of the middle of the century. But Puvis subtracted without adding, indeed without intensifying the elements he did retain. His was really a restriction of the means employed, and however short the

49. Cf. Moreau's *Le Jeune homme et la mort* (1865), dedicated to Chassériau; also his painting *Le Lever*, taken directly from Chassériau's *Light of the Harem*. There probably existed here (yet to be brought completely into the light by historians), the same kind of submerged line between 1830 and 1880, beneath the dominance of realism and impressionism, as has been shown to have existed between the rococo and romanticism below the dominance of neo-classicism. For similarities between Puvis and Moreau, note the former's 1868 picture of *Chance*, later destroyed, whose description sounds like a Moreau: "... une femme nue, endiamantée, ceinture dorée, au visage de sphinx, debout sur le chapiteau d'une colonne, qui tient une de ses mains fermée et l'autre ouverte, d'où s'échappent des pièces d'or." (Vachon, *op. cit.*, p. 69.)

50. For this French classical influence, compare the central group of *Work*, the group of women in *War* (where there is a romantic influence in the horsemen behind them, and the composition with the group in the distance), and the foreground figures, particularly the reclining man, and woman milking a goat, in *Peace* (all three in the Amiens Museum); or the landscape conception of *Vision Antique*.

51. Note, for example, the angels in the *Dream* and in *Victor Hugo* (Paris, Hotel de Ville), the top border of trees in *Inter Artes et Naturam* (Rouen), the drapery of the figure to left of center in the Sorbonne mural, or the decoration of sparse ground plants in the *Victor Hugo* and the Boston Public Library mural. Here, as elsewhere, it is futile to search for exact sources in single pictures, it is rather the question of a general influence from a *type* of painting. That Puvis did not admire the Quattrocento Italians on his two early trips to Italy, as was probably the case, does not, as some writers have contended, prove that he did not later — from 1880 on — come under their influence; the paintings are proof enough that he did.

52. Cf. the central panels of *Pottery and Ceramics* (Rouen, 1891), particularly the latter, with its two standing figures and Quattrocento spatial composition. Here is much of the Maurice Denis of the 'nineties. Maclair, *op. cit.*, p. 152, reports that Puvis thought very highly of the Denis' early paintings which he saw at the *Indépendants*. For the relationship to the tall panels of Gauguin's Brittany period, with their flat planes and high horizons, cf. the *Prodigal Son*, or such a section of the Panthéon murals as Vachon reproduces on p. 108.

distance he travelled, his direction was the direction of later art. That this was often felt without being understood does not detract from its importance.

The difficulty that the critics of his time had in accepting his direction has already been touched upon in the quotations given above. For the earlier critics Puvis' work was "naïve," and by this they meant that though he had great talent he still had much to learn. For the later critics there was a conflict that suggests some of the difficulties that have also been current in the evaluation of art after Puvis' time. For these writers Puvis' naïveté was, in principle, a positive asset; they opposed it as a virtue to work that was too knowing, too facile, too *savante*. In the words of Ary Renan, writing in 1896, "sa conception a la simplicité des inconscients chefs-d'oeuvres de l'art du passé et ne se rapproche d'eux que par cette simplicité spontanée."⁵³ Because it was proof of the man's sincerity it carried an emotional message. But characteristically Renan showed that he was not quite ready to accept the implications of his own words, since he then went on to prove that in effect Puvis was a highly skilled and skilful artist who could do what he liked with nature because he knew it intimately through profound and patient study. Similarly Gustave Geffroy and Kenyon Cox, while praising Puvis' simplicity, considered it acquired and so really the end result of an extreme sophistication. At the same time the legend of Puvis as a simple man, a quality obviously inferred from the quality of his painting, and a myth which Puvis did his best to encourage, persisted among the conservative critics, while the symbolists like Paul Adam stressed the spontaneous, unconscious generation of his ideas. Léon Werth, for example, tells us that the artist refused to discuss aesthetic principles: "Je suis plus qu'embarrassé," he said, "de développer une esthétique quelconque, étant un être essentiellement instinctif et juste le contraire d'un compliqué. . . . Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse analyser un artiste comme on décrit les rouages d'un montre. L'artiste est insaisissable, en lui prêtant une technique et des intentions en dehors de l'évidence, on est à peu près sûr de se tromper. . . ."⁵⁴ Like Puvis' stylistic innovations, this position seems mild when compared with that assumed by artists in the twentieth century but, like them, it has within it the germ of later developments. Thus Puvis gradually came to embody — in miniature, as it were — the new popular psychological image of the artist: the man of great skill and knowledge who is somehow at the same time of the utmost simplicity and childlike naïveté, these two conflicting qualities resolved by the suggestion of spontaneous creation (very different from the divine inspiration of the romantics) which is the controlling factor of the artistic personality.

A third aspect of Puvis' art contributed in an important

fashion to the position we have seen he occupied among the younger generation at the turn of the century. The pictures of greatest interest to them were not so much the mural decorations as the easel paintings, the smaller undertakings which the artist himself, if we may judge from his insistence in doing murals even at his own expense, considered of minor significance. In these paintings allegory is not alone reduced to its simplest form, it is depicted as a rendering of mood, and is given something of a vague, indefinite, and suggestive character which allows the spectator the luxury of personal reverie and association. The two most famous instances of this are the *Prodigal Son* (1879) and the *Poor Fisherman* (1881), which might be termed combinations of allegorical and expressionist painting. But it is also an important quality in both *Orpheus* and *The Dream* (both 1883), two pictures which in handling and subject-matter are closely allied to the allusive art of a Maeterlinck or a Redon. (It will be noted that all four pictures come at the beginning of the "latter phase" of Puvis' style.)

In July, 1901, Gauguin wrote from the South Seas to his friend Charles Morice: "Puvis explains his idea, but does not paint it. He is a Greek, while I am a savage. Puvis calls a painting 'Purity.' In explanation, he paints a young virgin with a lily in her hand — an obvious symbol — and is understood. Gauguin, with the title 'Purity,' paints a landscape with limpid waters, unsoiled by the hand of civilized man. . . ."⁵⁵ But Gauguin's criticism was only relatively correct, only, that is, in relation to the problems of his own painting and that of his generation. The canvases we have mentioned did not have the direct transcription of mood, nor the power of suggesting universal, if undefined meaning that was the ideal of the symbolists, and which was attained in different ways in some of the works of Munch and Redon, but compared to the allegorical work of his contemporaries, the Englishman Leighton, for example, or Boecklin, he did go far in this direction. Comparable in some respects was the work of Hans von Marées. Both he and Puvis were faced with the problem of trying to expand into a mood specific, conventional allegorical symbols; in both there is a resulting vagueness and pallor, but Marées, more disturbed than Puvis by problems of form, devoted himself more exclusively to the evocation of a singly nostalgic idyll.⁵⁶

55. The picture is not *Purity*, but *Hope* (1870-72), an interesting confusion in view of Gauguin's argument. He had himself included it (in the nude version) in his painting *Still Life with Hope* (1901).

56. In this respect Puvis' use of landscape played an important part. In general, the importance of landscape backgrounds gradually increases as his work advances, until the Boston mural would lose little (might even be improved) without its figures. This is of course bound up with the allegorical problem, upon which Holler's solutions and difficulties also throw light, and the relation of mood

53. Ary Renan, *loc. cit.*

54. Léon Werth, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

For a realization of the problem with which Puvis was dealing we need go no farther afield than a contrast of certain of his works with others. A large composition like the hemicycle of the Sorbonne, necessitating many figures related within the design rather than to the spectator, each figure with a specific allegorical denotation, has little force of comprehensive meaning, while its mood of passive quiet differs little from other murals with other subjects. The very stillness and inner preoccupation of the individual figure which Puvis was such a master at conveying were handicaps here, where positive existence and obvious, even if entirely conventional, symbolic terminology were primary requisites. The picture is charming but difficult to decipher; it has neither the assured public existence of an allegory invented within an accepted, still strong tradition, nor the private, reflective, and inward character of Puvis' smaller paintings. It was, however, precisely the combination of the two, the joining of allegory with mood, of conventional description with reflection and expression, that Puvis attempted. But the two could be united on the scale of mural decoration only by the attenuation and pallor characteristic of Puvis' art. In this connection there are two statements by Puvis which show the difficulties under which he worked in his attempted resolution of, on the one hand a private and a public art, and, on the other, of a self-con-

to clear-cut allegory at this period. I hope to treat the whole question of allegory during the 'nineties in later articles.

scious academic tradition with a naïve, unreflective inspiration. Asked by Marius Vachon whether for the invention of the iconography of the Sorbonne picture (*An Allegory of Letters, Science, and the Arts*) he had had the assistance of scholars, in a manner similar to the practice of the great artists of the Renaissance, he proudly replied that all the allegories were his own invention. But on another occasion, when questioned about the origins of his compositions and their meanings, he answered, "Je suis un ignorant; je ne sais rien de la philosophie, de l'histoire, de la science; je ne m'occupe que de ma profession."⁵⁷ Thus in conclusion we may say that though in one sense there is truth in the suggestion that whereas certain of his contemporaries "renouvellent la tradition, Puvis la termine, et par là, il est à la limite même où la tradition devient convention," there were other aspects of his art which were part of, and above all gave inspiration to the beginnings of a new tradition.⁵⁸ To those qualities, and to the legend created around them, Puvis owed the reputation with which he so happily ended his career.

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57. Vachon, *op. cit.*, p. 138: "Puvis de Chavannes n'avait pas modifié, là, sa méthode de travailler dans la solitude complète, sans faire même aux amis intimes confidence de ses études et de ses projets." And Vachon, p. 58.

58. Werth, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

NOTES

GANDHĀRA AND EARLY CHRISTIAN ART: THE *HOMME-ARCADE* AND THE DATE OF THE BĪMARĀN RELIQUARY

BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

Many of the early writers on the school of Late Antique sculpture in northwestern India and Afghanistan, called either Graeco-Buddhist or Gandhāra art, have briefly alluded to the resemblances between this easternmost extension of the Roman Imperial style and the forms and techniques of Early Christian art.¹ None of the scholars who have examined the possibility of such a relationship — with the exception of Vincent Smith who at least cited a great many parallels between Early Christian art and Graeco-Roman art in India — has done more than mention the general resemblance between certain types that occur on the reliefs of Gandhāra and the sarcophagi of Christian Rome.² The re-examination of this question could not be described as whipping a dead horse, for on no occasion has it been studied with the end of reaching a really creative conclusion on the significance of these similarities. The importance of such comparison lies in the light it sheds on the controversial date of the Gandhāra school and also on the mechanism governing the diffusion of concepts and art forms in the Late Antique world. Some of these similarities are simply what one would expect in the synthetic and almost world-wide creation that was Late Antique art in the early centuries of the Christian era; others, as suggested above, are of such significance as to warrant a more thorough analysis than has been given them.

One of the closest Indian parallels to art forms in the Late Antique world is afforded by the famous golden reliquary of Bīmarān (Fig. 1), first brought to light by the romantic pioneer in Indian archaeology, Charles Masson, just one hundred years ago.³

In a recent article on the Bīmarān reliquary Reginald Le May has sought to demonstrate that this famous casket is no later than the late first or early second century A.D.⁴ Among the evidence brought forward to support this claim is the fact that when this object was excavated in one of the stupas near Jelalābad, there were found a number of coins of the ruler Azes II who reigned in the first half of the first century A.D.⁵ It is the present writer's contention that this numismatic testimony does not demonstrate either that the reliquary was made before or after the minting of the moneys found with it: it is a well known fact that coins continued in circulation in India sometimes centuries after they had been struck, and therefore the coppers of King Azes may well have been deposited for any

number of reasons long after their original date of issue.⁶ Le May, basing his judgment on an enlargement of the small and very inadequate engraving in Wilson's book, comes to the conclusion that the masonry of the stupa in which the relic box was found belongs to a type assigned by Sir John Marshall to the Scytho-Parthian period of the first century A.D.⁷ This type of construction, called rubble masonry by Marshall, may be seen in the Dharmarājikā stupa and the buildings at Sirkap in Taxila. A comparison of Masson's drawing of Tope No. 2 at Bīmarān with my photographs of the ruined stupa at Shevaki near Kabul reveals a striking similarity (Fig. 2). The photographs clearly show that although the core of the Shevaki stupa is a mass of stones and earth closely resembling rubble, the exterior surface, consisting of large boulders set in very regularly disposed courses of small stones, resembles the coarse and massive diaper pattern which Sir John Marshall has found to be typical of buildings of the second century A.D. at Taxila.⁸ The photograph of a detail of a stupa at Bīmarān, the construction of which is the same as Masson's No. 2, again shows this identical surfacing in large diaper masonry (Fig. 3). It seems clear to me that it is this type of construction, and not rubble, that Masson sought to illustrate. His sketch also reveals a conglomerate of stone and earth identical to that of the building at Shevaki. A further argument brought forth by Le May to date the Bīmarān reliquary in the first century A.D. is the evidence of the Kharosthi inscription on the stone vase in which the golden box was originally found.⁹ Since, as the writer himself admits, his authorities, Professors Konow and Thomas, disagree, their testimony certainly does not serve to bolster our confidence in the author's conclusions. Indeed, the parallels to Late Antique art which I intend to investigate in this article will serve to support my original hypothesis that the Bīmarān reliquary is much later than the date claimed for it by Le May and earlier writers.¹⁰

On the sides of the Bīmarān reliquary, which suggests a pyxis in form, is chased a double series of four figures, some walking, others standing in attitudes of adoration, and each one framed in the arch of an arcade that girdles the casket (Fig. 4). In the niches to right and left of the image of Buddha are figures of Indra and Brahma turning toward him, just as on certain Early Christian sarcophagi the Apostles Peter and Paul reverently approach Christ, although each placed — as He is — in his own compartment of the arcade (Fig. 5).¹¹ Still another parallel to these Early Christian monuments is the placing of birds in the

6. It is said that the silver medals of the Bactrian kings continued to circulate as legal tender in Afghanistan until modern antiquarians placed a new premium on these beautiful Hellenistic coins. Moneys of Apollodotus and Menander were current in India in Nero's time. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 277. B. Rowland, Jr., "A Revised Chronology of Gandhāra Sculpture," *THE ART BULLETIN*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 396-397.

7. Le May, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 42, pl. v, 1.

8. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. v, 3.

9. Le May, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

10. In an earlier article ("Revised Chronology," *THE ART BULLETIN*, p. 399), I suggested the second or third century A.D. as a date for the Bīmarān casket; this view is supported by Hugo Buchthal in his publication of "The Houghton Collection of Gandhāra Sculpture," *The Burlington Magazine*, No. 304, LXXXVI, March, 1945, p. 66, n. 6.

11. Marion Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West," *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, 2, 1932, figs. 18, 44, etc.; cf. also the silver casket of Proiecta in the British Museum: *A Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, British Museum, London, 1921, pl. VI. H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, 1, Paris, 1932, pl. 75. The actual figures on the Bīmarān casket in proportion and drapery suggest the representations

1. V. A. Smith, "Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1889, No. III, pp. 164 ff.; A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, London, 1901, pp. 42, 68, 135-136; Le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1926, pp. 49-50; A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1917, pp. 135-136; A. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, 2, Paris, 1922, pp. 783 ff.

2. See also B. Rowland, Jr., "St. Peter in Gandhāra," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 6 Ser., XXIII, Feb., 1943, pp. 65-70.

3. H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua . . . with a Memoir on the Monuments Called Topes by Charles Masson*, London, 1841, p. 41.

4. Reginald Le May, "The Bīmarān Casket," *The Burlington Magazine*, No. 182, LXXXII, May, 1943, pp. 122-123.

5. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71; Le May, *op. cit.*, p. 120.



FIG. 1. London, British Museum: Reliquary from Bimārān, Afghanistan

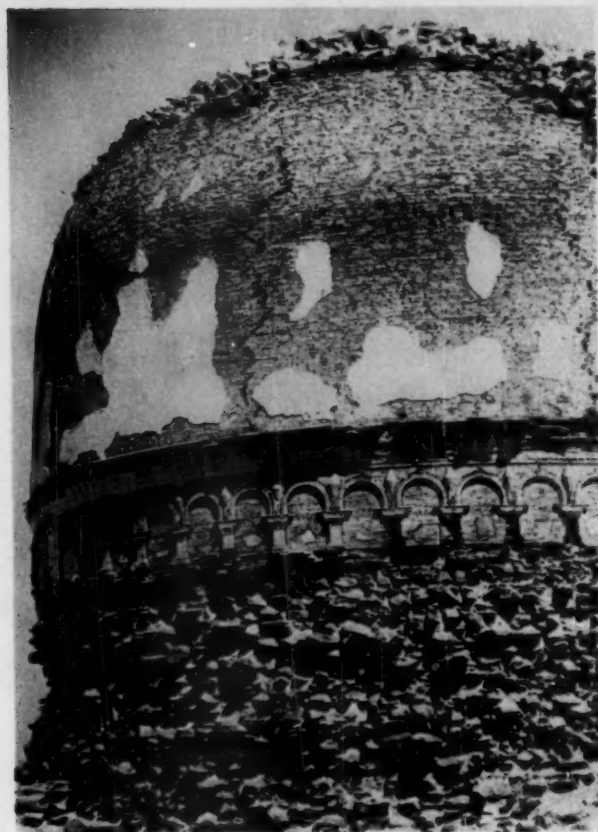


FIG. 2. Detail of Stupa at Shevaki near Kabul, Afghanistan



FIG. 3. Detail of Stupa No. 5 at Bimārān near Jelalābad, Afghanistan

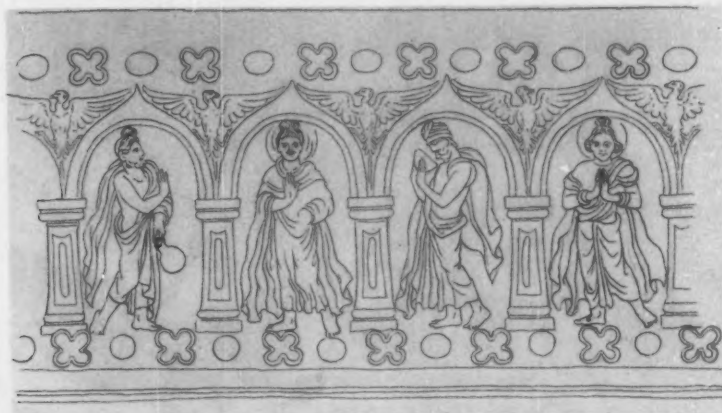


FIG. 4. Reliquary from Bimārān, Afghanistan, Projection



FIG. 5. Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Early Christian Sarcophagus

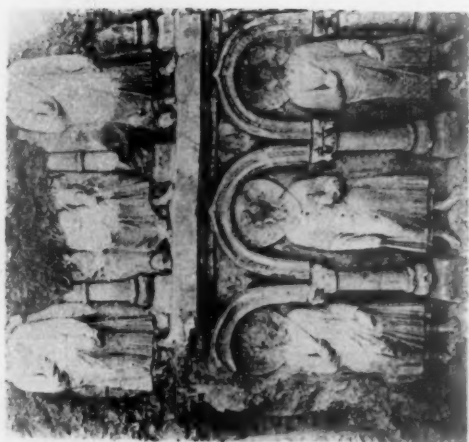


FIG. 6. Buddhas in Niches, Stupa No. 56, Bagh-gai (Hadda), Afghanistan

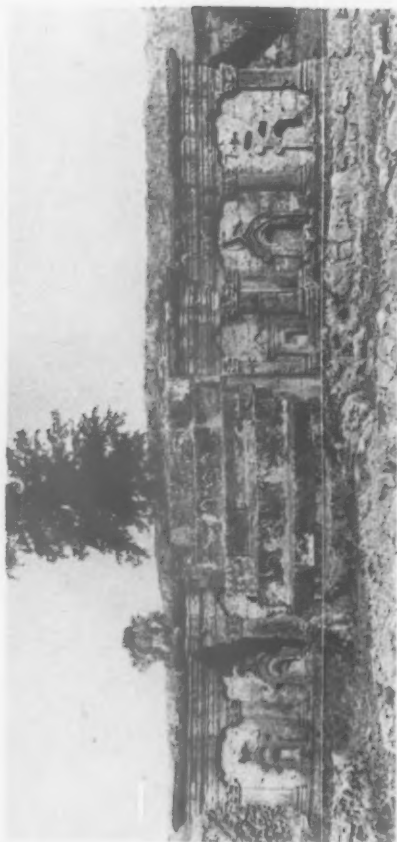


FIG. 7. Shrine of the Double-Headed Eagle, Sirkap (Taxila), N.W. Frontier Province, India



FIG. 8. Ossuary from Transoxiana



FIG. 9. Ali-Masjid Stupa, Khyber Pass, N.W. Frontier Province, India

spandrels of the arches of the golden casket.¹² The fact that the figure-and-arcade device in the West was employed almost exclusively for funerary furniture, namely the sarcophagi, may, it might be ventured for what it is worth, have exercised some influence on its being selected for monuments; that is, reliquaries and stupas, which, insofar as they contained relics of Buddha and his saints, were also of a sepulchral nature. This is not the place to discuss the evolution of the *homme-arcade* motif, except to say that it does not occur in Indian art prior to the Gandhāra school and that this device of separating figures in niches as a sculptural concept is first evolved in the Asiatic sarcophagus of Melfi, carved in Lydia about 170 A.D., and in the sarcophagi of Sidamāra, dating from the second century A.D. and later: from this Eastern source there developed the fourth-century columnar sarcophagi of Christian art and, possibly, the equivalent of this form in northwestern India and Afghanistan.¹³ In the Bīmarān casket and in the Early Christian sarcophagi, the arcade is a continuous and flat succession of arches on columns with none of the projecting *aediculae*, broken entablatures, and exedrae that distinguish the earliest adaptation of the *scenae frons* to funerary furniture. This peristyle, with its union of columns and arches, suggests nothing so much as the façade of the palace of Diocletian at Spalato. The Bīmarān reliquary is by no means the only parallel to this Early Christian type that Gandhāra affords: on Stupa No. 56 at Bagh-gai (Fig. 6), near the more famous Afghan site of Hadda, and in one of the wall-paintings at Bāmiyān, we again find the device of figures placed in the adjacent niches of an arcade, an arrangement that suggests even more strongly the Early Christian sarcophagi of the columnar type.¹⁴ These comparisons unquestionably point to the dating of all the Gandhāra monuments in question in the third or fourth century A.D. at the very earliest. Regarding the possible independent evolution of the *homme-arcade* motif in Gandhāra, it might be argued that as early as the first century B.C. in the Shrine of the Double-headed Eagle at Sirkap (Taxila) (Fig. 7), we have an architectural façade

treated with a blind arcade: in the niches formed by the engaged Corinthian pilasters are small reliefs of an Indian gate or *torāṇa*, the entrance of a *chaitya* hall, and an elevation of a pedimented temple front.¹⁵ It needed only the substitution of Buddha images for these representations of architecture to produce the typical *homme-arcade* decoration as we see it in Afghanistan and at Taxila itself in the stucco ornamentation of the stupas of Jauliān.¹⁶ Such an evolution would represent, first of all, the expected transition from the primitive, aniconic form of Buddhism to the developed Mahāyāna in which images of the Master replaced the earlier symbols; secondly, this development could be said to follow the same cycle as that which is believed to have produced the *homme-arcade* motif of Late Antique art. There the placing of human figures in the intercolumnar spaces of a typical Hellenistic theater or portal façade produced the characteristic form of the Sidamāra sarcophagi and the Early Christian sarcophagi of the columnar type.¹⁷ Whether we are to conclude that the *homme-arcade* concept originated independently in India as suggested above, or that the rows of Buddhas separated by pilasters is a decorative scheme taken over from Early Christian art, is an extremely difficult and yet enormously important problem in the history of the art of the Late Antique world. A third, and, in the author's opinion, the most attractive, possibility is that the motif of figures in an arcade had a common source in the Near East and spread from there both to India and to the Late Classic and Early Christian world of the West.¹⁸

No evaluation of the aspect of the Gandhāra–Early Christian problem touching on the *homme-arcade* motif can overlook the curious pottery ossuaries which have been discovered in some numbers in Transoxiana (Tadjikistān, Uzbekistān, Tabaristān) (Fig. 8). They are briefly discussed in an article by Strzygowski, and the single drawing published in this study of one of the ossuaries is at present the only material available on these objects.¹⁹ On the side of the coffin is an arcade formed by columns with exotic capitals, supporting round arches, with four niches each containing a figure in Sasanian dress. In the spandrels of the arches are three-pointed designs that look almost like abstractions of the birds that fill the spaces in the same position on the Bīmarān reliquary; a frieze of quatrefoil designs runs along above the arcade. The similarity of the whole arrangement to the sarcophagi of the pagan and Christian West and to the Gandhāran versions of the figure-and-arcade concept, is immediately apparent. The style of the Tashkend sarcophagus is most strongly suggestive of Sasanian art, particularly

of Christ and the Apostles on a reliquary in the Hof Museum, Vienna. (See W. F. Volbach, *Metallarbeiten des christlichen Kultes in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter* [Kat. des Rom.-Germ. Central Museums, Nr. 9], Mainz, 1921, No. 11, Taf. v, and H. Swaboda, "Frühchristliche Reliquiarien des K. K. Münzen und Antiken Cabinetts," *Mitteilungen der K. K. Central Commission*, Wien, xvi, 1890, Taf. 1.)

12. The employment of these eagles in the spandrels may be seen in many examples in Roman architecture. Cf. Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *THE ART BULLETIN*, xxvii, 1945, p. 18, figs. 55–56. In these monuments it is likely that the eagles, the birds of Zeus, were used in conjunction with sky symbolism inherent in the dome they support. In the Bīmarān reliquary it is unlikely that we are to see anything more than a decorative use of a once meaningful form.

13. Cf. C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, v, Princeton, 1924, pp. 90 ff., and *idem*, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, pp. 24 ff.; see also Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 164. The concept of figures in panels, as seen on the gates and railings at Sāñci and Bharhut, which is the nearest Indian approach to such an arcade arrangement, has really nothing to do with a device that started in the Late Antique period as a group of related figures placed against an architectural background and ended by the figures being absorbed into that architectural background. No one would suggest that the arcade motif began in India before its appearance in the Western world. The early development of the *homme-arcade* motif in Christian and Byzantine art is discussed by H. Focillon in his *L'art des sculpteurs romains*, Paris, 1931, pp. 63 ff. The *homme-arcade* represents, as it were, a new emphasis on the *dramatis personae* rather than the drama: figures isolated in architectural niches replace the earlier scenes of continuous dramatic action. The Sidamāra sarcophagi seem almost certainly to reflect the arcaded façades of buildings of the Greek East. Single figures enclosed in niches are known in Parthian art, but these again seem to be a later development out of the *homme-arcade* concept evolved in the Graeco-Roman world of the Near East. Cf. Giuseppe Furlani, "Sarcophagi parthici di Kakzu," *Iraq*, 1, pp. 90–94.

14. J. Barthoux, "Bagh-gai," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, v, 2, 1928, pl. xxvi; J. Hackin, *L'oeuvre de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, 1922–32, Tokyo, 1933, pl. 2b; cf. also J. Barthoux, "Les fouilles de Hadda," *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, 1, Paris, 1933, figs. 102 and 143; B. Rowland, Jr., *The Wall-Paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon*, Boston, 1938, pl. 2.

15. Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1918, pp. 73, 74, pl. xii; *idem*, "Excavations at Taxila," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1912–13, pp. 30–31, pls. xxvi, xxviii.

16. Sir J. Marshall, "The Stupas and Monasteries at Jauliān," *Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs*, No. 7, Calcutta, 1921, pl. v a. No such substitution of anthropomorphic for aniconic symbols took place in the West owing to the unbroken continuity of the anthropomorphic tradition, a tradition that presumably only reached India with the introduction of Graeco-Roman techniques.

17. See C. R. Morey, *Mediaeval Art*, New York, 1942, p. 34. In an article on "The Architectural Background in the Paintings at Dura-Europos," *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlv, 1, Jan.–March, 1941, pp. 18 ff., Mr. Clark Hopkins also derives this concept from the *scenae frons*. I am unable to follow his argument that the Ajanta wall-paintings show the influence of such Late Antique space concepts.

18. The façade of the Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon comes as close to approximating the Graeco-Roman theater façade as anything in the oriental world. There is no way of telling from the existing ruins whether or not the now empty niches were originally filled with statuary: the general enframing, however, is so close to what we see at Hadda and Taxila that it may well have been through Sasanian Iran that the *homme-arcade*, together with so many other borrowings from Late Antique art, found its way to Gandhāra. Cf. Focillon, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

19. J. Strzygowski, "Hellas in der Zeit des Überganges von der Antike zum Mittelalter," *Mnemon Spyridon Lampros*, Athens, 1935, pp. 115, 127–128, fig. 7.

the figural designs on metal work.²⁰ The date of this object can be no later than the early seventh century A.D.

It seems scarcely necessary to point out that the presence of these pottery caskets in the Oxus region is insufficient to prove the origin of the arcade-and-figure concept in Middle Asia: the Tashkend sarcophagi seem rather to furnish the evidence we have been seeking for the introduction to the East of the columnar sarcophagus type of the West.²¹ Even if they are later by several centuries than the material we have been dealing with, the very survival of the *homme-arcade* motif on these ossuaries seems to substantiate the hypothesis, already suggested by the Bīmarān reliquary and the Bagh-gāi stupas, that the form was introduced to Gandhāra perhaps as early as the third century A.D.

From what we know of the movement of artistic influences in the Late Antique world it is unlikely that the arcade-and-figure motif originated in Gandhāra and spread from there to the West. The synthetic character of art in the twilight of the classic world is such that probably the truth lies in all the proposed explanations for the appearance of the concept in India; that is, it is derived ultimately from the façades with engaged orders in the Roman world, and more specifically from the form as developed on Early Christian sarcophagi through the collaboration of Syrian workmen who, as will be explained below, saw the appropriateness of this funerary architecture to the needs of the Buddhist church of Gandhāra. Since the developed form of the *homme-arcade* is unknown before the Asiatic sarcophagi of the late second century A.D., it would be impossible to suppose that any occurrence of the type in Gandhāra is prior to this date.

In studying the photographs of the Gandhāra stupas with their multiple images of Buddhas under arcades we are faced with another problem of an iconographical nature. It is not without importance for the stylistic aspects of the question: anyone seriously investigating the religious art of the East is bound to ask himself first of all whether the work of art he is examining was made for the expression of a definite concept that determined its form. In this case, one is bound to ask whether the repeated figures of the Buddha, each one nearly identical to its neighbor, were made as parts of a whole representing the miraculous appearance of the Buddha in many places at one time, as in the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī and in the transcendental sections of the Lotus Sūtra (*Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*), or whether these are merely repeated effigies of Śākyamuni duplicated for the merit believed to accrue from the making of statues of the Great Teacher. From what we know of Buddhism in Gandhāra there is little evidence that the sculpture of this region was dedicated to Mahāyāna Buddhism: the only Bodhisattva recognizable in Gandhāra art is Maitreya; insofar as we know, the mystic Buddhas of Mahāyāna are unknown, and only Śākyamuni and his mortal predecessors, the *manuṣi* Buddhas, are carved in the sanctuaries of northwestern India. More often than not, the number of statues seems determined solely by the dimensions of the space to be filled, but since the individual figures are differentiated from one another, it may be that they are either Śākyamuni at various moments of his career, or Śākyamuni and the Buddhas of the Past who were worshipped in Gandhāra.

The story related by Hsüan-tsang about the double-bodied Buddha at the great stupa of Kanishka at Peshawar furnishes us a clue to the significance of Buddha images on the stupas: in this legend two men each engaged an artist to paint a picture of the Enlightened One; when they came to pay their respects to the

icons they had ordered, the two patrons were disappointed to find only one painting of the Buddha.²² At the artist's insistence that he had not defrauded them and that the picture would give some "spiritual indication" of this, the painted Buddha divided in two from the waist upwards and the two men "believed and exulted."²³ It is specifically implied in this passage that each man wished to have his own picture of the Buddha; in other words, we might well be justified in assuming that the multiple statues of Buddhas on the monuments at Taxila and Hadda are individual donations, or, at least, different likenesses of the same Buddha. In the photograph of the Ali-Masjid stupa (Fig. 9) one can make out statues of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of various types: it is tempting to think of these as different deities or different aspects of the same deity each in its separate niche like the chapels dedicated to various saints or types of Christ in the ambulatory of a great cathedral. One could see in this repetition of the Buddha images on all four sides of the stupas the germ of the idea embodied in the four-faced statues of Lokeśvara at Angkor which are not four-headed monsters but one deity both seen and seeing everywhere at once.²⁴ The multiple Buddha images could be interpreted as representing not many different Buddhas but one Buddha seen everywhere and simultaneously.

I have already suggested that the *homme-arcade*, a motif universally employed for sepulchral monuments in the West, was for this reason found appropriate for the decoration of reliquaries and stupas which can also be regarded as funerary in function.

Dütschke in his brilliant chapter on the significance of the columnar sarcophagi in pagan and Christian art has suggested that, first and foremost, the pagan sarcophagus was the House of the Dead: it was also a representation of the Palace of Hades as abode of the shades.²⁵ In Christian art the Palace of Hades is converted into the Halls of Heaven or the Heavenly Jerusalem: Christ and the Elect emerge from the colonnade that had formerly sheltered Apollo and the Muses as companions of the departed.²⁶ What could be more appropriate for a sepulchral monument than the representation of the Celestial City where the soul hoped to dwell in peace with the Saviour? In the same way, the pagan sarcophagi with the flora and fauna of Elysium are converted into those Christian coffins that portray the bay trees, the gardens, and goodly walks of Jerusalem the Golden.²⁷ The conception of Paradise as a "palace" is almost universal in Indian mythology: I need mention only the palace of the Cakravartin, the King of the World who sits enthroned in the center of the great wheel of the world, and that center is his palace on the summit of Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain that pillars apart Heaven and Earth.²⁸ Sometimes the Heaven of the Tūṣita gods, the dwelling place of the Bodhisattva Siddhartha before his last incarnation, is likewise described as a palace. The nearest textual confirmation to the suggestion that the revetment of the stupa was in a sense a vision of celestial architecture is contained in the description of the building of the Lohāpasada in the Mahāvamsa.²⁹

The significance of this seeming digression is that with the acceptance of the *homme-arcade* as a means of representing the

20. Cf. J. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pl. XLVI.

21. The Parthian sarcophagi occasionally have single figures standing in isolated niches, but this is hardly to be interpreted as a true *homme-arcade* (cf. Furlani, *op. cit.*, pls. XII-XIII).

22. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1, London, 1906, p. 102.

23. For an account of representations of this renowned image and later copies of it, see E. Matsumoto, *Tonkō-ga no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1937, pp. 317 ff.

24. Cf. P. Mus, "Has Brahma Four Faces?," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1937, pp. 60-73.

25. R. Dütschke, *Ravennatische Studien*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 122 f., p. 125.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 137 ff., 142, etc.

28. See *The Mahā-Sudassana Suttanta* (*Sacred Books of the East*, xi), Oxford, 1881, pp. 265 ff.

29. W. Geiger, *The Mahāvamsa*, London, 1912, p. 183.

architecture of Paradise it seems not at all unlikely, but indeed very probable, that the form was adopted for Buddhist usage to represent the realms of the Buddhas. In earlier Indian art, as for example on the East gate at Sāñcī, the palaces of the *devas* are represented as columnar halls probably drawn from contemporary architecture; such a conception of the Buddhist Heaven recurs in the sixth-century fresco of Buddha in the Tūṣita Heaven in Cave 2 at Ajantā.³⁰ In this regard, it is interesting to note that we may identify the three central figures of the Bīmarān reliquary as a representation of the descent of Śākyamuni from the Tūṣita Heaven.³¹ The multiple images of Buddhas on the stupas of Gandhāra, then, could be explained as representing the Buddha and the Buddhas of other *kalpas* enshrined in the golden halls of their heavens: the substitution of classical architectural forms being made the easier by the fact that Indian architectural forms had already been used for paradisiacal settings in earlier Indian art. The fact that the *homme-arcade* was specifically used to depict the architecture of the celestial regions in the West would only make it more acceptable to the Buddhists of Gandhāra who always showed themselves open to borrowing ready-made classical types and techniques of all sorts for the realization of their iconographical ideals. The concept of the Buddhas in their heavens as a decoration for the exterior of the stupa is not in the least incompatible with the essential meaning of these monuments as symbols of the Universe.³² The hypothesis becomes even more convincing when we recall that, although the arcade undergoes a considerable transformation — into Indian terms — it is still employed to shelter the Buddhas of the Four Directions whose multiple images once crowded the niches of the Mahābodhi temple at Gayā and the many copies of that memorial in the Eastern world.³³ Again, single images of Buddhas, either of the Four Buddhas of the Past or of the Four Mystic Buddhas, were often placed at the four sides of stupa bases to symbolize the Paradises of these Tathāgatas at the four points of the compass.³⁴ The Buddhas on the stupas of Gandhāra, sitting or standing in a palatial architectural setting of mixed classical and Indian form, could then be said to be a primitive form of the Paradise iconography, a concept exactly paralleling the prototype of the Heavenly Jerusalem as symbolized by the arcades of the Early Christian sarcophagi.

On the basis of the archaeological and iconographical evidence presented above, it seems inevitable to conclude that the Bīmarān casket and the related monuments employing the *homme-arcade* device can be no earlier in date than the late second century A.D., when the form was first evolved in Asia Minor. As we have seen, the masonry of the stupa at Bīmarān and others in the vicinity of Jelālābad confirms a dating no earlier than the second century A.D. Allowing for a time lag both for the introduction of the *homme-arcade* from the West and the introduction of the building methods employed at Taxila to southern Afghanistan, an even later chronology is indicated. This review of a limited aspect of the relation of Late Antique art to Gandhāra corroborates my earlier argument on the basis of the style of the Buddha image that the finest of the Gandhāra reliefs are derived from the sculpture of the period of Marcus Aurelius and later.³⁵

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30. L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 1929, I, pl. 50; G. Yazdani, *Ajantā*, II, Oxford, 1930, pl. XIX.

31. Foucher, *op. cit.*, I, Paris, 1905, pp. 537–539.

32. P. Mus, *Barabudur*, Hanoi, 1935, pp. 195 ff.

33. B. Rowland, Jr., "A Miniature Replica of the Mahābodhi Temple," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1938, p. 73, pl. XXIII.

34. Cf. T. Naitō, "Jodai toba shihō shibutsu no seiritsu-katei ni tsuite," *Tōyō Bijutsu*, December, 1931, pp. 1–12.

35. B. Rowland, Jr., "Gandhāra and Late Antique Art: the Buddha Image," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI (1942), No. 2, pp. 224 ff.

A DRAWING BY LEONARDO

GÜNTHER NEUFELD

The most vivid and penetrating account so far given of this intriguing drawing (Fig. 1) is that of Anny E. Popp, who called it "Scenes from the End of the World."¹ The title is plausible and suggestive and yet not quite satisfactory, since it leaves the sketches assembled here altogether undefined and their interrelations undetermined. Bernhard Berenson was reminded of the "Vision of Ezekiel."² Sir Kenneth Clark, at first undecided, has lately adopted the view of Miss Popp and in his essay on Leonardo speaks of an "apocalyptic intention."³ Martin Johnson is even less concrete; he presents the sheet as a sort of model for the "drawings of cosmic disaster."⁴ The interpretation proposed below finds a somewhat different significance in the sketches, without making any claim to be more than a conjecture; it offers a possible explanation rather than one which can clearly be proved.

The first thing that arrests the eye, apart from meaning or content, is the graphic arrangement of the whole. The manner in which the several sketches are distributed over the sheet, with unequal intervals among them, creates a rhythmic relationship between sketch and sketch as well as between covered and blank spaces; while the scattered lines of writing lend themselves to the same design.

Leonardo, being left-handed, started with the cloud study in the upper right-hand corner.⁵ In the note relating to this sketch he explains under which conditions the rounded parts ("globosità") of a cloud are perceptible at its edges, but invisible at its center.⁶ As usual with Leonardo, the note touches only upon one aspect of the sketch to which it refers. Spirals of fire rain from the cloud onto human beings beneath, while a little to the left a city is being destroyed by earthquake. The direct transition from atmospheric phenomena to visions of terror and destruction was instinctive with Leonardo; in his imagination — forever combining and connecting — the two were intimately linked, so much so that in his later years, to which the drawing belongs, the evocation of one of them inevitably released the other. The climax of this tendency, a complete fusion of the two, was reached in the famous Deluge descriptions and in the so-called Rain series.⁷

Now the juxtaposition of fire from heaven and a city laid in ruins brings to mind a specific event: the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; and it does indeed appear that Leonardo when doing these sketches was thinking of the biblical judgment, and not of some cosmic, nameless catastrophe. Compare the heading of the note with Genesis 19:28:

1. *Leonardo da Vinci: Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1928, pp. 18, 53, No. 77.

2. *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, Amplified Edition, Chicago, 1938, II, p. 137, Nos. 1246–1250B.

3. *A Catalogue of the Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, Cambridge, 1935, I, pp. 49–50, No. 12,388; *Leonardo da Vinci. An Account of His Development as an Artist*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 172.

4. "Leonardo's Fantastic Drawings," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXX-LXXXI, 1942, pp. 142, 193; *Art and Scientific Thought*, London, 1944, pp. 136–137.

5. A similar though quite early cloud study is on a large sheet at Windsor Castle: 12,283 recto. (Best reproduction in: *I Manoscritti e i Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci*. Pubblicati dalla Reale Commissione Vinciana. *Disegni*, fascicolo V, Rome, 1939, pl. CLXXXV.)

6. Transcribed in: Jean Paul Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, 2nd ed., O.U.P., 1939, I, No. 477. Cf. Codice Arundel fol. 172 verso, where the argument is repeated, and *Trattato della pittura*, "Del rossore delli nuvoli" (Leonardo da Vinci, *Das Buch von der Malerei*, ed. Heinrich Ludwig, *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, xv–xvii, Vienna, 1882, No. 927). The last-named chapter makes clear the connection between the phrase at the right-hand margin — "rossore d'aria inverso l'orizzonte" — and the rest of the text on our sheet.

7. Windsor 12,665 recto and verso, and Windsor 12,377–386.

"De nuvolo, fumo e polvere e fiamme di forno o fornacie infochata."⁸

(Of cloud, smoke and dust and flames from an oven or burning furnace.)

"And (Abraham) looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace."⁹

It would seem that the four sketches below have been produced in similar fashion — not by following a preconceived plan, but rather through the association of reminiscences which succeeded each other while Leonardo was at work. The sketch done first was the group on the right, which enlarges and individualizes the microscopic scene of the men smitten by the rain of fire. The striking thing about this group is that the figures are not attempting to escape the fire, but submit to the visitation as though it were a judgment of God. One figure, coming from the right, can be seen running toward the center; some are kneeling; some are variously recumbent; not one of them steps outside the circle invisibly drawn around the scene. In the middle, there is a figure towering above the others, quite unmoved and apparently unconcerned. The sketch is not an illustration, but it recalls in so many ways the fourteenth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, where those are punished who sinned against God, against nature, or against man, that one is tempted to assume an associative connection:

"D'anime nude vidi molte gregge,
che piangean tutte assai miseramente,
e pareva posta lor diversa legge.

"Supin giaceva in terra alcuna gente;
alcuna si sedea tutta raccolta,
ed altra andava continuamente.

"Sopra tutto il sabbion d'un cader lento
piovean di foco dilatate falde,
come di neve in alpe senza vento."

Dante's closing metaphor would account for the long, almost motionless flames which are hanging over the group.

It may be mentioned that Leonardo has rendered flames in this wave-like form elsewhere, for instance in a series of studies on a small sheet at Windsor Castle depicting the movement of fire and smoke (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The two studies on the left of this

8. Clouds, smoke, dust and flames were closely related for Leonardo, representing to him, with wind and rain, a cohesive group of phenomena. In his preparation of the *Trattato*, especially during his years at Rome, he thoroughly investigated all these components with respect to light and color effects. Cf. *Trattato della pittura*, "Dov' è più chiaro il fumo" and "Del fumo" (ed. Ludwig, Nos. 468 and 470); "Delli fumi delle città" (Ms. G fol. 22 verso and *Trattato*, No. 515), "Del fumo e polvere" (Ms. G fol. 23 recto and *Trattato*, No. 516). The short chapters in Ms. G (1510-15), which go from fol. 20 verso to fol. 23 recto, all begin with the words "Quando il sole è all'oriente" or "Stando il sole all'oriente"; the text on our sheet begins: "Se 'l sole è all'oriente."

Characteristic is a passage of about 1515, likewise intended for the *Trattato*. Here a vision of destruction on the surface of the earth — the collapse of a mountain, burying a town — leads to a detailed discussion of appearances in the atmosphere:

"Un monte cadente sopra una città.

"Il quale levi polvere in forma di nuvoli, ma il colore di tal polvere sia variato dal colore d'essi nuvoli. . . . E dove la pioggia è mista col vento e colla polvere, i nuvoli creati dalla pioggia sien più trasparenti che quelli della polvere. E quando le fiamme del fuoco saran miste co' nuvoli del fumo e dell'acqua, allora si crea nuvoli tenebrosi e molto opachi. . . ." (Codice Atlantico, fol. 79 recto-c).

9. Leonardo most probably used the Vulgate, in which the relevant simile reads as follows: "viditque ascendentem favillam de terra quasi fornacis fumum."

10. Windsor 12,403. A fitting title for this drawing would be the words "Del moto del fumo," which he wrote beside a sketch in the Codice Atlantico (fol. 29 recto-b).

sheet, which show the development of smoke in a slight breeze and in a calm, are very close to our drawing, the smoke being drawn in the same manner as the cloud in its upper right-hand sketch.

A little farther on Dante asks:

"chi è quel grande che non par che curi
l'incendio, e giace dispettoso e torto
sì che la pioggia non par che il maturi?"

"That great one" is Capaneus, one of the kings besieging Thebes; he is lying on the ground, for his sin was against God. The figure in the sketch is standing. As he towers over the others, the only one unmoved, he is reminiscent of the great figure in Paolo Uccello's *Deluge*, that stands in the same way motionless, preoccupied and withdrawn, taking no heed of the desperate plight of those about him who seek safety.¹¹

To the left of this group there is a crater, which is curiously incomplete: the front side of the structure is missing, as though it had been sawn away. The rock formation appears in cross section — one can see down into the caldron. Among Leonardo's landscape drawings this representation is unique. The crater was apparently conceived of as a stage, and it seems probable that it was meant for the scene of the men overwhelmed by fire — a setting for the group on the right. It is a kind of pit of hell seen through the eyes of a geologist. (That the crater belongs to the scene on the right is, moreover, indicated by the spiraling flames which appear in its depths.)

Corresponding to the group on the right is a group of skeletons rising from their graves, on the left. Some, who are still close to the ground, are raising or letting fall their stones. One skeleton surmounts the others, his arms lifted in exhortation. The ghostly company, which appears to be gathering for departure, is evidently the counterpart or an echo of the group on the right, yet it seems also to be connected with the earthquake sketch above and the cloud-covered sun in the center. The sun was the last sketch put on the sheet, in the lower half of which only little space was left. Behind the sun, it will be seen, tongues of lambent flame shoot out against a somber background; in front of it is a dense cloud. If we put the three sketches together — the earthquake and the resurrection and the darkened sun — we cannot help thinking of the events which, according to St. Luke and St. Matthew, accompanied the death of Christ:

" . . . and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent; and the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection . . ." (Matthew 27:51-53).

"And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened . . ." (Luke 23:44-45).

In this connection, the sketch done last would give a rational explanation of the temporary darkness without depriving that apparition of its miraculous quality — a procedure typical of Leonardo. The sun disappears behind a cloud, losing its radiance in a manner which is perfectly natural, but it is set against a background which is wholly fantasy.

The present note is not intended to go beyond a tentative identification of the sketches, but in concluding, one observation may be added. However loosely the sketches are linked,

11. That Leonardo was familiar with the fresco in the Chiostro Verde is sufficiently shown by the following excerpt from his description of the *Deluge*, based as it is on the recollection of certain incidents in the painting:

" . . . Alcune congregazione d'uomini aresti potuto vedere, li quali difendeno li picoli siti (che loro era rimasi) con armata mano da lioni e lupi e animali rapaci, che quivi cercavan lor salute . . ." (Windsor 12,665 verso).

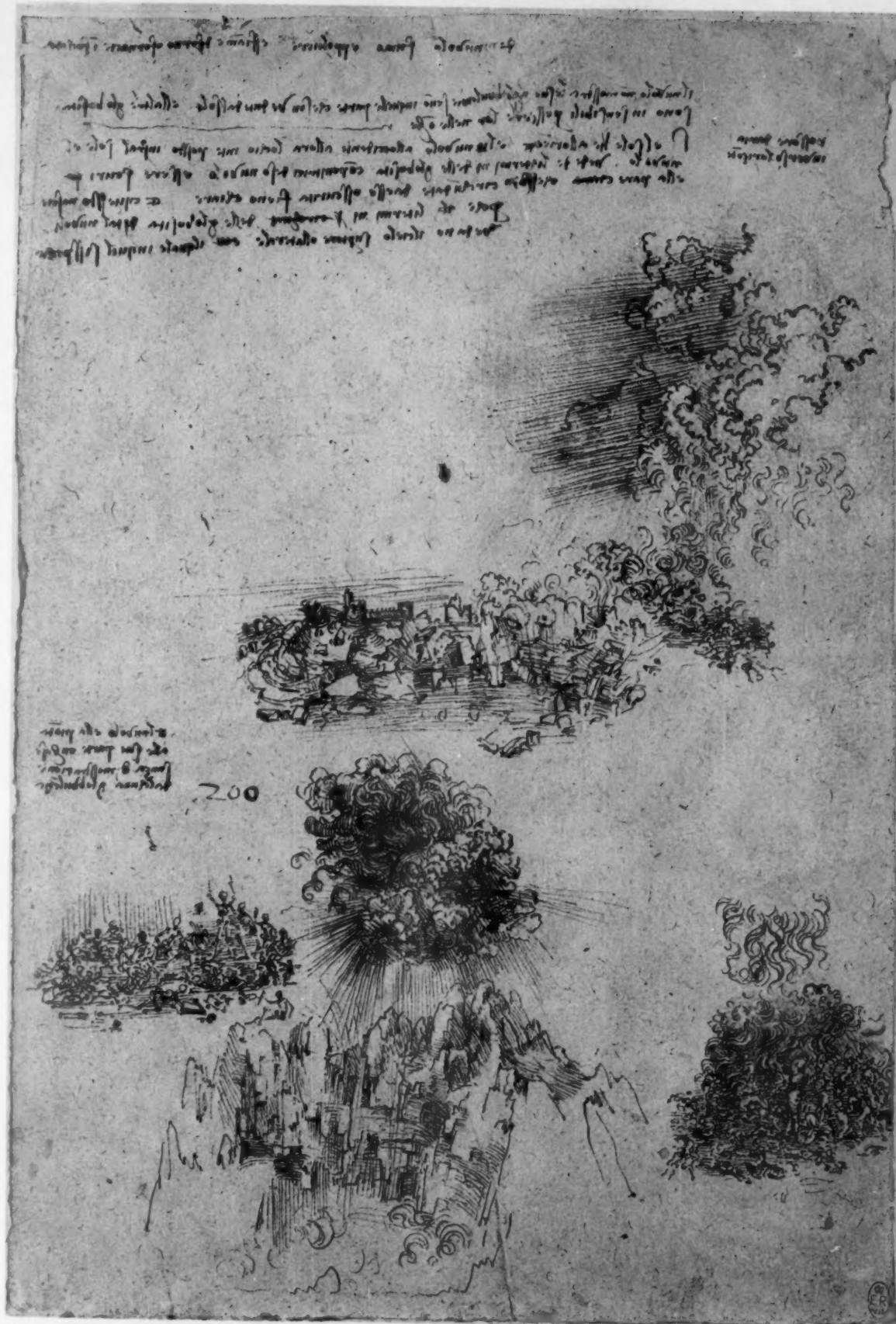


FIG. 1. Windsor Castle, Royal Library: Leonardo da Vinci, Drawing



FIG. 2. Windsor Castle, Royal Library: Leonardo da Vinci, Drawing



FIG. 1. Boldrini after Titian, Caricature of the Laocoon Group

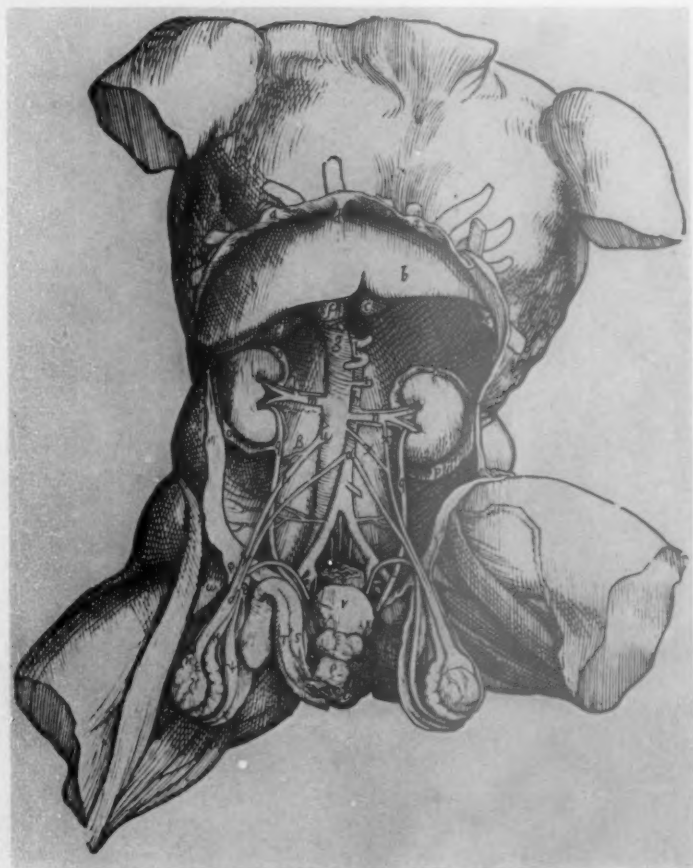


FIG. 2. John Calcar, Torso from the *Fabrica*, Book v, Pl. 22



FIG. 3. Initial V from the *Fabrica* of 1555



FIG. 4. Francesco Valesio, Upper Portion of Engraved Title-Page from the *Fabrica*, Venice, 1604

however little they seem to follow a preconsidered plan or pattern, those with figures in them at least show a unity of concept. They are the outgrowth, or the expression, of an eschatological meditation. Leonardo, as he created these scenes, was contemplating sin and judgment, and damnation and redemption. But it seems to have been a particular sin that Leonardo had in mind, since the two events on the right have more than the rain of fire in common: in both cases the same transgression, the same perversion is being punished. The destruction of Sodom and its people was a judgment on the offense which has ever since been called after that city in the Bible; the fourteenth canto of the *Inferno* describes the expiation of those who did violence to God, of the usurers, and the sodomites.¹² Whether the resurrection scene on the left-hand side of the sheet implies redemption from the sin being punished on the right, remains a matter of surmise.

It is possible that this drawing is one of the very few introspective or autobiographical documents left to us by Leonardo—a soliloquy on the part of the man rather than an exposition by the scientist or the artist. Yet artist, scientist, and man are inseparable in all his work, though their interdependence is rarely as fully revealed as it is here.

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TITIAN'S LAOCOON CARICATURE AND THE VESALIAN-GALENIST CONTROVERSY

H. W. JANSON

Among the graphic works associated with the name of Titian, the large woodcut depicting three apes in the pose of the *Laocoon* (Fig. 1) has long been the object of special attention.¹ Its unusual and puzzling subject-matter has led many scholars to speculate on the meaning of the design, but a truly satisfactory explanation still remains to be found. Unfortunately, there is an almost complete lack of tangible clues, so that any attempt to solve the problem—including the one presented below—will have to depend largely upon circumstantial evidence.

The woodcut itself is neither signed nor dated, and no mention of it has been found in the archival or literary sources of the period. The earliest reference occurs in Carlo Ridolfi's *Le maraviglie dell'arte*,² which also furnishes the authority for the generally accepted attribution of the design to Titian, since it lists the print among the master's "invenzioni, che se ne fecero stampe." While this passage, written almost a century after the probable date of the work in question, need not be regarded as absolutely reliable, it has never been challenged on artistic grounds. The landscape setting of the *Laocoon Caricature* is indeed strongly Titianesque in character; Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat have suggested that it may reflect a sketch dating from the master's Giorgionesque period, since a very similar landscape occurs in an engraving by Giulio Campagnola.³ With regard to the figures, however, Titian's authorship cannot be taken entirely for granted. Here the exceptional nature of the subject renders stylistic analysis of any kind highly uncertain.

12. It is, I think, worthy of note that Cristoforo Landino, when commenting upon this passage in Dante, had already pointed out the parallel with the retribution inflicted on the cities of the plain: "È anchora conueniente che gli punisca col fuoco: perchè tal pena ueggiamo che apparecchiò idio a Sogdoma & gomorra." (Quoted from the second edition of Cristoforo Landino's *Comento*, Venice, 1484.)

1. J. D. Passavant, *Le peintre graveur*, Leipzig, 1864, vi, p. 243, no. 97; 278 × 410 mm.

2. Venice, 1648; ed. v. Hadeln, Berlin, 1914, I, p. 203.

3. "Titian's Woodcuts," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, xxv, 1938, p. 349.

The manner of execution of the print permits somewhat more definite conclusions. Its vigorous, fluid lines, imitating insofar as possible the spontaneity of the original pen drawing, represent a graphic technique that appears to have been developed by several Venetian wood-engravers under the direct influence of Titian around the middle of the sixteenth century. The individual styles of these men are often difficult to tell apart, owing to the scarcity of signed and dated examples of their work; the *Laocoon Caricature* is generally assigned to Niccolò Boldrini, who is known to have worked for Titian in 1566. In that year, he produced the chiaroscuro *Venus and Cupid*, his only signed and dated print, inscribed with the names of both artists.⁴ However, Boldrini's collaboration with Titian may well have begun ten to fifteen years earlier, and the resemblance between the *Venus and Cupid* and the *Laocoon Caricature* is hardly sufficient for any deductions concerning the exact date of the latter print.⁵

The traditional interpretation of the *Laocoon Caricature* exists in several variants, all of them closely related in principle. The oldest of these, voiced as early as 1831⁶ and recently repeated by Margarete Bieber,⁷ asserts that the print was intended to satirize Bandinelli's copy of the *Laocoon*; a somewhat broader version of this view suggests that it was aimed at the excessive admiration for classical art prevalent in Florence and Rome.⁸ The most recent hypothesis, proposed by Oskar Fischel, assumes that the print was directed against the *Laocoon* itself; that Titian conceived it out of a desire to free himself from the overwhelming impression the statue had made upon him.⁹

Of these alternatives, the Bandinelli theory might at first glance appear to be the most attractive. Apes have been used to represent inept copyists or jealous imitators ever since classical antiquity, so that Titian could easily have employed them for the same purpose if he had wanted to ridicule Bandinelli. On the other hand, is there any reason to assume that he actually had such a desire? After all, the supposed object of his scorn was commissioned in 1520, thirty to forty years before the probable date of the woodcut. Furthermore, Bandinelli's copy was not the only reproduction of the *Laocoon* made at that time, even though it seems to have been the only one in marble; we know of several others in bronze, including one by Jacopo Sansovino which was given to the Venetian senate in 1523.¹⁰ Surely the difference in material is not important enough to explain why Titian should have singled out Bandinelli for his attack. Quite apart from all these considerations, we may well doubt whether the shortcomings of Bandinelli's copy were as apparent to Cinquecento eyes as they are to the critically sharpened vision

4. Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, Leipzig, 1866, xii, p. 126, no. 29; cf. Tietze, *op. cit.*, pp. 348, 353. 1566 is also the date of a privilege granted to Titian for the reproduction of his works by Cornelis Cort and Niccolò Boldrini, the only document relating to the latter master; cf. Paul Kristeller, s.v. "Boldrini," in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, iv, p. 242.

5. Tietze and Tietze-Conrat, *op. cit.*, p. 355, assume that both prints were done at about the same time.

6. Cf. John Knowles, *The Life and Writings of John Fuseli*, London, 1831, iii, p. 137, note; this passage, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf, is the first statement of the Bandinelli theory in print that has come to my attention. The theory itself may well be several decades older.

7. *Laocoon; the Influence of the Group since Its Rediscovery*, New York, 1942, p. 7.

8. This interpretation dates as far back as the mid-seventeenth century; M. van Opstal voiced it in a lecture on the *Laocoon Group* on July 2, 1667, as related in Félibien, *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Paris, 1669 (English edition, London, 1705, p. 30). This reference, too, I owe to Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf. Among more recent authors, the theory was adopted by Georg Gronau, *Titian*, London, 1904, p. 136.

9. Cf. *Amtliche Berichte, Kgl. Kunstsammlungen, Berlin*, Dec., 1917, pp. 60 ff.; Bieber, *loc. cit.*, quotes it as an alternative to the Bandinelli theory.

10. Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

of our own day. Regardless of whatever may have been Titian's own opinion on the subject, it appears most improbable that the prospective buyers of the woodcut possessed a sufficiently discriminating attitude toward the problem of copies after famous masterpieces to appreciate a satire of this sort.

As for the notion that the *Laocoon Caricature* represents an attack upon the classicistic dogma of the Florentine and Roman schools in general, it may have been suggested, at least indirectly, by the numerous slighting references to Venetian art in Vasari's *Vite* of Titian, especially the well-known statement that "without design and a study of selected ancient and modern works, skill is useless, and it is impossible by mere drawing from nature to impart the superior grace and perfection of art, because some aspects of nature are usually not beautiful."¹¹ Here Vasari claims, in effect, that Titian's art is little more than a "simia naturae." If Titian had felt it necessary to defend himself against this accusation, he could in turn have charged the Florentines with being "simiae artis," and the *Laocoon Caricature* might have served to convey this idea. However, there are no indications that he was ever disposed to such a spiteful exchange; being far less concerned with aesthetic theory than the author of the *Vite*, he seems to have taken a much more broad-minded view of his artistic neighbors to the south. To impute to him the mentality of a Vasari would be ungenerous, to say the least.

Fischel's proposal raises equally serious misgivings. The theory that Titian, an early admirer of the *Laocoon*,¹² should at some later time have conceived a feeling of revulsion toward the statue that he had to "abreact" in pictorial form, seems too subtle, too modern in its psychological implications. In any event, no evidence to support it can be found in the artist's life and work during the years around 1550, the probable date of the *Laocoon Caricature*. In 1545, Titian had paid his first visit to Rome, where he was very much impressed with Michelangelo and classical sculpture. His own testimony assures us that he was "learning from these most wonderful ancient stones."¹³ Nor is this admiring attitude in any way surprising; ever since the early 1540's, Titian's style had developed in a direction that seemed to anticipate the effects of the Rome journey. Why, then, should he have wanted to satirize the *Laocoon* at a time when his own work was closer to the spirit of the statue than ever before? And if he did have such a desire, why should he have chosen to display this highly personal impulse to the public at large through the medium of a woodcut?

Finally, there is one argument that can be brought to bear against all three of the interpretations discussed above. For the Cinquecento as a whole, reverence toward the art of antiquity was undoubtedly the dominant tendency; thus, if Titian had conceived the *Laocoon Caricature* in order to cast ridicule upon this attitude, the print would have stirred up considerable agitation, at least in artistic circles. In view of these circumstances, the complete silence of contemporary authors seems most surprising, especially in the case of Vasari, who had every opportunity to learn of the matter when he visited Titian in Venice in 1565. Why did he fail to mention it in the *Vite*, where he could have used it so effectively to underline his general criticism of Titian's style? Ridolfi, too, knew nothing of the significance of the design; in fact, he did not even recognize its satirical implications, since he describes it simply as "un gentil pensiero di tre Bertucchie sedenti attorniate da serpi, nella guisa del Laocoonte e di figlioli posti in Belvedere di Roma." Neverthe-

less, the *Laocoon Caricature* surely was intended to be more than just a monumental piece of *dérôlerie*. Nor can there be any doubt that classical sculpture is somehow involved in the satirical message it conveys. Why, then, did Ridolfi and the other chroniclers of artistic affairs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy remain ignorant of this message? Could it be that the object of the satire must be looked for not in the realm of aesthetics but in one of the numerous other areas where the authority of the ancients might become a matter of dispute?

A controversy of this kind was in progress during the middle years of the Cinquecento in the field of anatomy. It not only seems to fit the chronological and artistic circumstances of our case but has the further advantage of providing a direct explanation for the apes in the *Laocoon Caricature*. The event that set off the conflict we are about to review was the publication, in 1543, of Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica libri vii*. In this famous work, adorned with the magnificent woodcuts of John Calcar, Vesalius defied for the first time the authority of Galen, whose opinions in matters anatomical had hitherto been accepted as gospel truth by the doctors of the Renaissance. Not only did he cite several hundred factual errors from the writings of the Pergamene physician; in order to drive home his attack, he levelled another and, in the eyes of his contemporaries, even more shocking charge: that Galen had never really dissected any human bodies, that he had "described the structure not of humans but of apes, despite the innumerable differences between the two."¹⁴ This sweeping accusation, prompted by Vesalius' eagerness to break down the wall of respect that protected Galen against any kind of professional scrutiny, soon rallied the traditionalists to an ardent defense of their hero and to an equally ardent campaign of vilification against the author of the *Fabrica*.¹⁵ Reports of hostile reactions to his book must have reached Vesalius within a few months after publication; in his *Epistle on the China Root*, written two years later, he states that he burned all his accumulated notes and manuscripts late in 1543 or early in 1544, apparently in a fit of despondency over the attacks of his colleagues.¹⁶ However, this frame of mind soon gave way to a fighting mood, since part of the *Epistle* is devoted to a restatement of the author's position in regard to Galen and to a vigorous defense of the *Fabrica*.

Such defiance incited the Galenists to new heights of indignation, and in 1550-51 they began to denounce Vesalius in print. The controversy was now in full swing, with accusations and counter-accusations following each other in rapid succession until 1564, the year of Vesalius' death. Repercussions of the dispute reached far into the seventeenth century, and as late as 1699 the English anatomist Edward Tyson found it of sufficient interest to include a detailed account of the whole matter in his book on the anatomy of a chimpanzee.¹⁷ Fortu-

14. "... qui [Galenus] et si huius [anatomes] procerum facile est primarius, humanum tamen corpus nunquam aggressus est, et simiae potius quam hominis ab illius fabrica innumeris sedibus variantis partes descripsisse (ne dicam nobis imposuisse) modo colligitur;" quoted by Moritz Roth, *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis*, Berlin, 1892, p. 143.

15. Galen certainly did use human cadavers, even though his opportunities for doing so must have been severely limited. It is true that many of his observations were most probably based on apes, but he never assumed that the anatomy of the latter was identical with that of man, since he recommended them for study purposes only when human bodies could not be procured. Cf. William C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 93 ff.

16. *Epistola, rationem modumque propinandi radices Chynae . . . pertractans: et praeter alia quaedam, epistolae cuiusdam ad Iacobum Sylvium sententiam recensens, veritatis ac potissimum humanae fabricae studiosis perutilem: quum qui hactenus in illa nimium Galeno creditum sit, facile commonstret*, Basel, 1546. The incident took place in Padua, where Vesalius held the chair of anatomy; cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 ff., and Harvey Cushing, *A Bio-Bibliography of Andreas Vesalius*, New York, 1943, p. 156.

17. *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: Or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie Compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man*, London, 1699. The passage referred to is reprinted in M. F. Ashley Montagu, "Edward

11. *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, VII, pp. 447-448.

12. This is evidenced by the well-known fact that the *Risen Christ* in the master's Brescia altarpiece of 1522 reflects the pose of the statue; Titian owned a cast of it at that time (cf. Bieber, *loc. cit.*).

13. In his letter to the Emperor, quoted by Gronau, *loc. cit.*, who concludes from it that the Rome journey had brought about a reversal of Titian's previous estimate of classical sculpture as expressed in the *Laocoon Caricature*, which he dates before 1545.

nately, Vesalius was not alone in defending his point of view; while he was preparing the second edition of the *Fabrica*, which appeared in 1552-55, others took up the cudgels for him. In Italy, his spiritual homeland, the Vesalians outnumbered the Galenists, whose stronghold, characteristically enough, was in the northern countries.¹⁸

The foremost, as well as the most vituperative, of Vesalius' enemies was his former teacher at the university of Paris, Jacobus Sylvius. After casting aspersions on the *Fabrica* in his commentary on Galen,¹⁹ he published in 1551 a vicious pamphlet, *Vaesani cuiusdam calumniarum . . . depulsio*, "a refutation of the calumnies of a certain madman," grossly insulting Vesalius in the very title. Some of the arguments used by Sylvius are of particular interest in connection with our problem. His basic aim, of course, was to prove that every word of Galen's anatomy applies only to humans, not to apes. For the most part he simply denied, with or without further discussion, the specific charges of error made by Vesalius; in some instances, however, Galen's descriptions disagreed so obviously with the results of direct observation that not even Sylvius could shut his eyes to the existence of discrepancies. In order to cover all cases of this kind, he fell back on a theory that had existed in various forms as a minor current in mediaeval philosophy: the idea of the progressive decay of nature since the days of old.²⁰ Transferring this pattern to the field of anatomy, Sylvius maintained that man had degenerated to some extent since classical antiquity, an assumption which enabled him to claim that Galen's statements, even if they were no longer true today, had certainly been correct at the time they were recorded.²¹ As an argument against the *Fabrica*, this line of reasoning was so tenuous that even the Galenists failed to be impressed by it. To the Vesalians, on the other hand, it must have given a good deal of satisfaction. Sylvius had, after all, been forced to acknowledge at least part of Vesalius' critique of Galen; he admitted that his hero's observations did not always fit the human body as the anatomists of the Cinquecento knew it. But instead of calling these discrepancies errors, he concluded that the human species itself must have changed in the meantime, even though Vesalius, the original discoverer of these errors, had already demonstrated that they were due to Galen's habit of dissecting apes instead of humans. By insisting that in classical antiquity mankind had actually possessed the simian features attributed to it by Galen, Sylvius postulated, in effect, that the men of that time had looked like apes.

To the modern reader, this may look like a daring, if unintentional, anticipation of Darwin; the Vesalians of four hundred years ago could have regarded it only as a masterpiece of Galenist stupidity. Sylvius' faith in the authority of his classical source had indeed been blind, in the most literal sense of the term. A significant passage in his *Depulsio* decries the lavish plates of the *Fabrica*, and in fact all anatomical illustrations, as utterly useless; they are misleading because they are "covered with shad-

ows" and dangerous in that they tempt the student to neglect the dissection of actual bodies.²² But in upholding the infallibility of Galen by means of the degeneration theory, Sylvius had neglected a far more impressive source of visual evidence, namely, classical sculpture. Here, through works of art unsurpassed for their exact rendering of anatomical detail, the ancients themselves had provided posterity with incontrovertible proof that the structure of the human body had remained unchanged through the ages, and no one could have been more appreciative of this fact than Vesalius. The full-length figures among the *Fabrica* plates often betray the inspiration of classical statuary in stance and proportion.²³ The same is true to an even greater extent of the numerous if less well-known cuts of torsos, all of them strongly suggestive of the *Torso Belvedere* and similar pieces; the extremities are invariably treated as if they were broken off, rather than severed by the surgeon's knife, with the jagged edges and rough surfaces characteristic of cracked marble (Fig. 2). This admiration for antique sculpture must be credited, at least in part, to Vesalius himself. To be sure, the actual designing of the *Fabrica* plates had been done by John Calcar, but it was Vesalius who conceived the entire scheme, a veritable revolution in the field of anatomical illustration, and who supervised its execution step by step with the most painstaking care.²⁴ It is even possible, in fact, that he was quite a skillful draughtsman in his own right.²⁵

Under the circumstances, we may not be going too far afield if we attribute to the author of the *Fabrica* the original idea for the *Laocoon Caricature*. For what could have been a more effective pictorial rebuke to the Galenists in general and to Sylvius in particular than this *reductio ad absurdum* of the Galenist point of view, showing the most famous, as well as the most anatomically detailed, sculptural masterpiece of antiquity transposed into simian terms? If we accept this as the true meaning of the woodcut, its message might be formulated as follows: "This is what the heroic bodies of classical antiquity would have to look like in order to conform to the anatomical specifications of Galen!" Fundamentally, then, the *Laocoon Caricature* is the visual equivalent of Vesalius' original denunciation of Galen in the 1543 edition of the *Fabrica*, although the satire is focussed less upon Galen himself than upon Sylvius and his followers.

Considering the violent and insulting tone employed by both sides throughout the controversy — a practice not at all uncommon in the Renaissance — the ruthlessness of the travesty is understandable enough. From the first, Vesalius himself had been far from temperate, and the vicious attacks of his detractors certainly did not serve to restrain him.²⁶ Sylvius had alluded to him as a madman ("vaesanus"), a compliment that was repaid a few years later by one of the defenders of the *Fabrica*, the Swiss

22. Translated in Cushing, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

23. This was already noted by Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

24. For the artistic and scientific importance of the *Fabrica* illustrations and for Vesalius' share in their preparation, cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 159 and *passim*; also, more recently, William M. Ivins, "Woodcuts to Vesalius," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, xxxi, 1936, pp. 139-142, the chapter "Vesalius and Calcar" in Cushing, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii-xxxvi, and the literature occasioned by the four-hundredth anniversary of the first edition of the *Fabrica* (listed in Cushing, p. 216).

25. As surmised by Roth, *loc. cit.*

26. Even the great Italian anatomist Gabriele Falloppio, although fully appreciative of the greatness of the *Fabrica*, had to admit that ". . . Vesalius, as a great warrior, aroused, so to speak, by the ardour of victory and moved by its force, frequently undertakes something which neither contributes to his own glory nor satisfies the greatest dukes and emperors; in that he sometimes seizes upon the words rather than the ideas of Galen . . . and . . . often carps at and accuses Galen in a manner unbecoming an anatomist . . ."; the passage occurs in the preface of his *Observationes anatomicae*, Venice, 1561 (quoted by Arturo Castiglioni, "Fallopius and Vesalius," in Cushing, *op. cit.*, p. 184), a treatise in which he takes issue with Vesalius on certain anatomical matters quite unrelated to the controversy over Galen. The public reply of Vesalius (*Anatomicarum Gabrielis Falloppii observationum examen*, Venice, 1564; excerpts quoted by Castiglioni, *supra*, pp. 190 ff.) is couched in extremely respectful terms except for the passages dealing with Galen and the Galenists.

Tyson," *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, xx, Philadelphia, 1943, pp. 294-298; with the author's bibliographical annotations, it is still a useful survey of the subject.

18. Cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

19. *Galenus de ossibus . . . commentariis illustratus*; according to Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 277, the first edition dates from ca. 1550.

20. For the development of this theory, which might be termed the metaphysical ancestor of the second law of thermodynamics, and its recurrence in other branches of Renaissance learning, see Richard F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, Washington University, St. Louis, 1936, pp. 23-42 and 291-296.

21. Cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 230, who points out that this argument is not wholly original with Sylvius. It occurs in the writings of several Italian anatomists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, even though at that time Galen had not yet been accused of dealing with apes instead of humans. The "degeneration theory" is of considerable interest for the history of science; despite the futile purpose which it was made to serve, its implications were decidedly "modern" in that it helped to overthrow the mediaeval doctrine of the immutability of species. For the latter, see Lynn Thorndyke, *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, New York, 1929, p. 216.

anatomist Renatus Hener, who referred to Sylvius and his friends as the "asini bipedes sylvani."²⁷ In the preface to the second edition of the *Fabrica*, Vesalius once more denounced his enemies in the most vigorous terms, but since in this instance pictures and text were of equal importance, he expressed his scorn for the Galenists in graphic form as well. The first edition of the *Fabrica* had been adorned with large figured initials representing various phases of dissection demonstrated by *putti*; in the second edition, these were augmented by a specially cut initial V designed by an unknown artist,²⁸ in which Apollo is shown preparing to flay Marsyas (Fig. 3). The choice of this particular subject in combination with the first letter of Vesalius' own name permits only one interpretation: the victorious "Apollo" Vesalius is about to punish his unsuccessful rival, the "sylvan" Marsyas.²⁹ Vesalius thus was no stranger to the possibilities of pictorial invective. The V initial apparently was his first effort of this kind;³⁰ it may well have whetted his appetite for a more ambitious venture in the same direction, thus becoming the spiritual ancestor of the *Laocoon Caricature*.

As an anti-Galenist allegory, the Apollo-and-Marsyas motif suffers from a lack of directness, since it fails to convey the nature of the conflict involved. In the *Laocoon Caricature*, this purpose is accomplished by the apes, whose anatomy Galen had allegedly substituted for that of man. The effectiveness of this device may be judged by the fact that after the death of Vesalius the ape became the accepted visual symbol for the entire controversy. Several interesting examples of its use in such a capacity have come to my attention, among them the elaborately engraved title-page of an edition of the *Fabrica* issued in Venice in 1604.³¹ The design shows a triumphal arch, its niches filled with various anatomical figures; in the archway, Vesalius is seen performing a dissection in the presence of several learned colleagues, while above him, reclining on the sloping sides of a broken pediment, are shown two animals of special significance to the professional reader: a pig, commonly used for vivisections because its inner organs were regarded as similar to those of man,³² and an ape, the source of Galen's mistakes and the creature closest to man in its bony structure (Fig. 4). A somewhat different arrangement may be seen in the engraved portrait of the Swiss anatomist and botanist Gaspard Bauhin by Johann Theodor de Bry³³ that forms the frontispiece of Bauhin's *Theatrum anatomicum*, published in Frankfurt in 1605. The portrait is placed in an oval frame within a rectangular field, and the two lower corners are occupied, respectively, by a human skull and by the head of an ape, both glaring at each other as if they were about to start disputing the merits of Galen vs.

Vesalius among themselves (in which case we may be sure that the ape would take the Vesalian side of the argument).³⁴

On a purely iconographic basis, then, our new approach to the *Laocoon Caricature* appears to be, if not completely secure, at least more solidly founded than the previous theories. However, in order to be fully acceptable, our interpretation will have to pass a further test; it must prove compatible with the artistic character of the woodcut. What connections, if any, can be established between Vesalius and Titian? Here it is useful to recall that until the nineteenth century the *Fabrica* plates were commonly believed to be by Titian, the explicit testimony of Vasari in favor of John Calcar notwithstanding.³⁵ From the point of view of style, this attribution is understandable enough, and Erica Tietze-Conrat has recently discovered new evidence suggesting that Titian may indeed have been more closely associated with the *Fabrica* illustrations than hitherto assumed, perhaps as the artistic supervisor of the entire project.³⁶ Since Vesalius was teaching at the University of Padua while the work on the *Fabrica* was in progress, it would have been only natural for him to consult the most renowned artist of the neighboring city. Whether we assume that it was Titian who introduced him to John Calcar or vice versa, there can be little doubt that the two great men knew each other directly. Thus, at some later time after John Calcar had passed from the scene, Titian might very well have obliged Vesalius with a drawing for the *Laocoon Caricature*, leaving the actual execution to his favorite wood-engraver, Boldrini.

But what was the concrete purpose of the print? It could hardly have been offered for sale to the general public without some explanatory text. Most probably Vesalius intended to use it as an illustration for a tract or pamphlet directed against Sylvius and the other Galenists.³⁷ Would Titian have deigned to help him out on an occasion such as this? There is reason to believe that, as a special favor to a friend, he might have been willing to do so; for, in 1537, he designed a woodcut, *Aretino and the Siren*, for the title-page of Aretino's *Stanze in lode della sirena*.³⁸ In any event, assuming that Vesalius planned to bring out a pamphlet of this sort, Venice would have been his most likely choice as a place of publication, since most of the literature dealing with Galen vs. the *Fabrica* was printed in that city.³⁹ Still, the fact remains that no such pamphlet ever reached the public; if it had, we would undoubtedly find references to it among the writings of other Cinquecento anatomists. Perhaps the disrupted pattern of the last twenty years of Vesalius' career may help to explain his failure to make appropriate use of the *Laocoon Caricature*. From the beginning of 1544 until his death, he was a court physician in the service of Emperor Charles V, a position that forced him to travel a great deal and thus made it virtually impossible for him to continue his scholarly and publishing activities. He died during a trip to Palestine the pur-

27. Renatus Henerus, *Adversus Jacobi Sylvii depulsionem . . . pro Andrea Vesalio apologia*, Venice, 1555; cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

28. John Calcar had died in 1546.

29. The symbolic meaning of the design was already recognized by Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 231; it is reproduced in Henry S. Francis, "The Woodcut Initials of the *Fabrica*," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, xxxi, 1943, p. 237, fig. 7.

30. The attempts of Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff., to find anti-Galenist implications in two of the original *Fabrica* woodcuts must be regarded as unsuccessful. His interpretation of the inscription and the dissected arm in the portrait of Vesalius as referring to a weak point in Galen has already been refuted by Cushing, *op. cit.*, p. 85; as for the two "grinning apes' heads" on the title-page, which he regards as symbols of Galen's simian propensities, they are nothing but ordinary decorative *diavolini*.

31. Cf. Cushing, *op. cit.*, p. 94, fig. 67; it bears the signature of Francesco Valesio, a Bolognese engraver who helped to decorate several Venetian publications of the early seventeenth century (cf. *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, new ed., New York and London, 1905, v, p. 229, s.v. "Valesio").

32. During the Middle Ages, when the dissection of human corpses was virtually impossible, the pig seems to have played a role analogous to that of the ape in Galen's time as a substitute for the direct study of human anatomy.

33. Reproduced in Agnes Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution*, Cambridge, 1912, pl. xi; Johann Theodor de Bry, 1561-1623, was active in Frankfurt, where he was the teacher of Sandrart (cf. Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, v, p. 162).

34. Bauhin must have been thoroughly conversant with the arguments on both sides of the controversy; as early as 1577 he owned a copy of Vesalius' reply to Falloppio (the title-page bearing his autograph is reproduced in Cushing, *op. cit.*, fig. 88).

35. Cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 166, and Cushing, *op. cit.*, p. xxix.

36. "Neglected Contemporary Sources Relating to Michelangelo and Titian," *THE ART BULLETIN*, xxv, 1943, pp. 156-159.

37. He might, for instance, have planned an answer to Francesco Pozzi (Puteus), whose *Apologia in anatome pro Galeno contra Andream Vesalium* was published in Venice in 1562. Such a reply, long erroneously attributed to Vesalius himself but actually by Gabriele Cuneo, did indeed appear two years later under the title *Apologiae Francisci Putei pro Galeno in anatome examen*, Venice, 1564 (cf. Cushing, *op. cit.*, p. 201, no. 100). The large size of the *Laocoon Caricature* need not be regarded as an obstacle to our hypothesis, since the plates of the *Fabrica* were of a similar scale.

38. Cf. Tietze, "Titian's Woodcuts," p. 467.

39. E.g. Hener's *Apologia*, including a complete reprinting of Sylvius' *Depulsio*, the writings of Pozzi and Cuneo, Falloppio's *Observationes*, and Vesalius' own *Examen* (cf. notes 26, 27, and 37 above); also Bartholomaeus Eustachius, *Opuscula Anatomica*, 1564, another defense of Galen.

pose of which is still something of a mystery. However, in the course of this last journey, he spent some time in Venice, possibly in connection with publishing plans frustrated by his untimely end. Could the *Laocoon Caricature* have played a part in these? Perhaps the wood block for the print, already cut, remained in Titian's workshop, and separate impressions were made from it at some later date because of the diverting subject-matter. When the *Laocoon Caricature* finally entered into the written records of the history of art in the mid-seventeenth century, the Vesalian-Galenist dispute was already well on its way to oblivion, so that the meaning of the design had to remain obscure. The rôle we have assigned to it here ultimately relates it to the same general problem as the older, aesthetic interpretation: the struggle between ancient authority and modern critical reason.

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NOT PAOLO BUT CARLETTO CALIARI

E. TIETZE-CONRAT¹

In 1942 the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston acquired a large altarpiece to which Mr. W. G. Constable devoted a comprehensive article.² The altarpiece was called one of the very few large-scale paintings by Paolo Veronese in this country. I believe that many essential points of Constable's publication call for revision.

I begin with the history of the painting as known before its acquisition by Boston. From Constable's cautious wording I infer that he is merely repeating as an *on dit*, information received at the time of the purchase.³ The painting was said to have been donated by a member of the Venetian Manfrini family to the church of Sant'Alessandro in Brescia; then — in the seventeenth century — to have formed part of the d'Ardier collection. Later on it belonged to Edward Solly, from whom it passed in 1846 into the collection of Christopher Talbot at Margam Castle, Glamorganshire, Wales. Here it remained for almost a hundred years until its removal to New York in 1941. Constable adds that it would be impossible to check this story for the time being, since the documents corroborating it were unpublished manuscripts of 1650 and 1747 in the Biblioteca Queriana at Brescia.

A considerable amount of checking, however, appears possible even under present conditions. The church of Sant'Alessandro in Brescia was entirely redecorated in 1785, but Morassi, in his brief description of the remodeled building, lists several paintings that had previously decorated it. For a more thorough enumeration of its earlier contents, he refers the reader to the guidebooks of Brescia earlier than Paolo Brognole's *Nuova guida per la città di Brescia*, Brescia, 1826.⁴ The guidebook that I was in a position to consult, the anonymous *Pitture e sculture di Brescia*, of 1760,⁵ lists a painting by Romanino over

the high altar, a Saint Roch by Moretto, other altarpieces and murals by Enrico Albrizzi, Torelli, Lattanzio Gambara, and others, and omits any mention of a large painting by Paolo Veronese. But may it not have left the church before 1760? We have already stated that the alleged tradition placed it in the d'Ardier collection as early as the seventeenth century. The d'Ardier collection, founded by Paul Ardier (1543-1638), who was *trésorier de l'Espargne* and *conseiller de l'Etat*, and later owned by his son, Président Ardier (died in 1672), is described by Bonnaffé from contemporary sources.⁶ The father, who bought the Castle of Beauregard in 1617, collected portraits of famous French personages. The son continued and rounded out the series which finally contained no less than 363 historical portraits and was still intact in 1884. Both father and son seem to have concentrated solely on their specialty. Besides the portraits, Président Ardier owned only a *Nativity* by Dosso. His wife, *Mme la Présidente*, owned two paintings by Savoldo, one a *Saint Mary Magdalen*, the other a *Saint Jerome in the Desert*.⁷ Not a word about the great Veronese! In my opinion it is most unlikely that such a painting ever existed in Sant'Alessandro. Ridolfi, who made a special point of making his biography of Paolo Veronese as complete as possible,⁸ who visited Brescia and gives us information on other paintings and murals in Sant'Alessandro,⁹ likewise does not mention the painting. Ridolfi's *Vita* of Paolo Veronese came out in 1646. Even if the painting had left the church before this date — which is very unlikely — somebody would have remembered it, and Ridolfi would not have let slip the opportunity of mentioning a painting that would have been the pride of the church, and of commenting on its sale to an *ultramontano*. Finally one more doubt about the alleged antecedents of the painting. What is the Manfrini family of Venice, a member of which is claimed to have donated such an important altarpiece around 1562-65? For such is the date proposed by Constable in view of an alleged resemblance of the painting to the *pala* of 1562 from San Zaccaria (now Academy), the *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* of 1565, and the landscapes in Maser. If any Manfrini existed in Venice in the sixteenth century, they were an unimportant family of which no member reached any distinction. I find no Manfrini in Venice before the late eighteenth century, when the family founded the well-known collection of paintings, housed in the Palazzo Venier-Priuli (Fondamenta Venier), a building which the Manfrini acquired only in the nineteenth century.

Thus the whole early story of the altarpiece fails to withstand criticism at any single point. And I doubt that any documents will emerge from the Biblioteca Queriana, when it becomes available, to disprove my suspicion that the story is made out of whole cloth.

Consultation of the library in question is for that matter entirely unnecessary since there is no uncertainty about the provenance of the painting. Among the paintings executed after Paolo Veronese's death by his heirs, i.e., his sons Carlo and Gabriele, and his brother Benedetto, the classical witness for Venetian Renaissance art, Carlo Ridolfi, describes an altarpiece in San Nicolò del Lido.¹⁰ In the note referring to this passage Hadeln expatiates: "Above, the Madonna between the SS. Lucy, Catherine, Agatha and Apollonia; below Benedict, Mark, Nicholas and another saint. Listed as by Carletto as late as in the *Rinnoiazione*, p. 467, but no longer listed by Zanetti." The

1. I publish this note, originally meant as information for Mr. Constable, with whose article it is in complete disagreement, at Mr. Constable's specific suggestion. I wish to express my high appreciation of his scholarly attitude, which places the establishment of all the facts before personal considerations.

2. "Two Paintings of the Venetian Cinquecento," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, June, 1943, xli, no. 244, pp. 25 ff.

3. This assumption is supported by the fact that a brief publication of the painting in *The Art Digest*, January 15, 1943, p. 7, contained most of the same information.

4. Antonio Morassi, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte d'Italia*, Brescia (1939), p. 56.

5. (Battista Carboni or Luigi Chizzola), pp. 119 f.

6. Edmond Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire des amateurs français au XVII^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1884, p. 7 f.

7. Florent Le Comte, *Cabinet des singularités*, Paris, 1699-1700, II, 136, III, 183.

8. He published it separately with a dedication to Paolo's nephew, Giuseppe Caliarì.

9. Carlo Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell'arte*, ed. Hadeln, Berlin, 1914, I, 264, 269.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 355.

Rinnovazione came out in 1733,¹¹ and Zanetti's book in 1792.¹² Hence Carletto's altarpiece vanished from San Nicolò del Lido between 1733 and 1792. It is described as containing the same saints as in Hadeln's note quoted from the *Rinnovazione* as early as 1664 and is then called *opera bella del Carletto*.¹³ The authorship of the "heirs," supported by Ridolfi in 1648 and specified by Boschini in 1664, seems beyond reasonable doubt. And it is no less certain that the painting to which they refer is identical with the one in Boston. The saints accompanying the Madonna are enumerated by Constable as, in the top row, Cecily, Lucy, Catherine, and an unknown female saint; below, St. Mark and St. Nicholas, a monk of the Benedictine or Augustine order, and an unknown bishop. There is complete identity, the unknown monk being St. Benedict and the fourth saint not having been identified by Boschini either. Among the female saints, Constable's unknown saint is named Agatha by Boschini and, instead of Cecily, he has Apollonia who also has an organ as attribute, as any handbook shows. There can be no doubt that the painting is Carletto's *bella opera*, reappearing in the Boston Museum after 150 years.

11. Marco Boschini, *Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture della città di Venezia o sia Rinnovazione delle Ricche Minere*, Venice, 1733.

12. Antonio Maria Zanetti, *Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de veneziani maestri libri V*, Venice, 1792.

13. Boschini, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

As a matter of fact, it was not Veronese's own *Life* by Ridolfi, but his paragraph on Paolo's heirs that I looked up after having come upon the photograph of the painting in Boston. It reminded me at once of Paolo's last works, as, for instance, the *pala* in San Giuliano.¹⁴ At the same time, it displayed a predominantly decorative character, and the elongated figures, typical, not of Paolo Veronese himself, but of his followers. Its whole character and all its details belong to Paolo Veronese, but it lacks that element of surprise which radiates from every newly emerging production of the master himself. How difficult it is to differentiate among the three "heirs" is well known to anyone who has studied this group. Ridolfi, as we saw, was satisfied with ascribing the painting to them in general, but the specific attribution to Carletto seems to have been accepted very early. The correctness of this attribution is confirmed by the similarity of the style of the painting with that of Carletto's fully signed *Saint Augustine Dictating the Rules of His Order* in the Academy in Venice.¹⁵ The reader may himself easily make the comparison.

NEW YORK CITY

14. Illustrated in *Mostra di Paolo Veronese, Catalogo delle opere a cura di Rodolfo Pallucchini*, Venice, 1939, no. 88, n. 204.

15. Illustrated in Giuseppe Fiocco, *Paolo Veronese*, Bologna, 1928, fig. 109.

BOOK REVIEWS

B. TARACENA AGUIRRE, *Carta arqueológica de España: Soria*, Instituto Diego Velázquez, Madrid, 1941. Pp. 190; 24 figs.; 12 pls.; 3 plans; 2 indices.

Despite the many helpful Spanish publications, such as, e.g., the *Memorias de la junta superior de excavaciones y antigüedades*, etc., scholars have for some time felt the need of a comprehensive repository of archaeological source material which could be referred to for the purpose of studying ancient Spanish monuments. A uniform series describing the various remains from antiquity in the different sections of Spain, which has been lacking, would be most helpful for extensive and minute examination of the architecture, sculpture and painting of the several cultures on the Spanish peninsula from Palaeolithic times to the Visigothic domination. The publication of B. Taracena Aguirre's *Carta arqueológica de España: Soria*, is the first fascicle of a series which evidently intends to fill this need.

The appearance of this book begins the ambitious publication of the "Archaeological Map" of Spain. In the short preface of the book (pp. 5-7) the Marqués de Lozoya explains that the series will be in line with those begun by Italy, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, etc. The Spanish series will consist of separate fascicles describing the remains of each province of the Spanish peninsula, from Palaeolithic to Visigothic times. In accordance with the geography and density of the remains the peninsula has been divided into twenty-five sections, each section covering 220.8 by 148 kilometers. A recognized specialist will publish the remains of each section. It is to be hoped that the future volumes (this, the first volume, is the only one of the series known to the reviewer) will be as useful and informative as the present volume.

The author, B. Taracena Aguirre, begins (pp. 9-24) by describing the province of Soria in antiquity, its geographical position, its archaeological sites from Palaeolithic times to the Visigothic era. This portion of the text is illustrated by maps showing (fig. 1) the location of the various sites in the province of Soria (fig. 2), the location of the culture of the *castros* in the Iron Age (fig. 3), the Celt-Iberian settlements and necropolises centered around Numantia and Termantia (fig. 4), the roads, settlements and necropolises of Soria during the Roman epoch. There then follow (pp. 25-26) a short bibliography and the abbreviations used in the text. The rest of the fascicle consists of a description of the remains and finds of each site in the province (pp. 27-180) and finally two indices, the first of which is an alphabetical list of places and the second a list of sites arranged according to periods.

The sites discussed are arranged in alphabetical order. The ruins and remains of each site are briefly described and after each description a helpful bibliography is appended. Naturally Numantia (pp. 67-83) and Termantia (pp. 102-116) receive the most extensive discussion, their ancient sources being listed and the results of their excavations described. A helpful air-map (plate II) and two large plans (figs. 11-12) of Numantia, and an air view of Termantia (plate VI) usefully illustrate these discussions.

The value of the text, for the foreign scholar in particular, may be indicated by a reference to the commentary on Medinaceli (pp. 94-96). Here are Roman remains, the most imposing of which is an arch with three openings. The dimensions of the arch are given and the arch itself is carefully described. It perhaps would be too much to expect from such a volume a comparative study of the arch and an attempt to date it closely. The

material is clearly presented and may be used for comparative purposes by those who will.

Concerning the data recorded on about two hundred sites in the province of Soria the greater part falls within the Roman and Celt-Iberian cultures. The following periods are represented in the province:

1. A few stations of the *Palaeolithic* period, the most interesting of which is Torralba del Moral (p. 160) where several fragments of prehistoric animals have been found.

2. *Neoeolithic*, represented, e.g., in Garray (p. 68) and Noviercas (p. 122). The stone culture of the *cuevas* as represented, e.g., in Montuenga de Soria 2° (p. 116) where interesting potsherds were found. "Wall Art" (*arte parietal*) of the full *Eneolithic* period found, e.g., in Canos (p. 49) and Manzanares (p. 93).

3. Daggers of the *Bronze Age* have been found, e.g., in Arancón (p. 38); and ceramic fragments in Retortillo de Soria 2° (p. 143). A sculptured menhir was found in Villar del Ala 2° (p. 177).

4. The *Iron Age*, including the culture of the *castros*, post-Hallstatt and Celt-Iberian cultures is particularly rich in the province of Soria. Almaluez 3° (p. 33) has given up several iron objects of this period; Gormaz 1° (p. 84) serpentine fibulae and cinerary vases. Megalithic ruins are extant in, e.g., Garray 3° (p. 70), and Vinuesa 1° (p. 178). The culture of the *castros* is richest in the north central part of the province.

South of the Duero River in, e.g., Gormaz 1° (p. 84) in the post-Hallstatt necropolises have been found swords, brooches, fibulae and ceramics, the latest adorned with painting, which give opportunity for the study of Celtic culture in Spain.

The *Celt-Iberian* culture in the province of Soria is of particular interest, since here are the famous cities of Numantia and Termantia whose heroic resistance to the Romans gives lustre to the early history of Spain. Numantia (p. 67) which has been carefully explored and excavated by A. Schulten, J. R. Mélida, B. Taracena Aguirre, etc. has extensive ruins and shows extremely interesting urban planning. The ceramics of Numantia are also very interesting and are treated briefly but expertly by the author who, having made a special study of Iberian vases, published *La cerámica ibérica de Numancia* (Madrid, 1924), "Los vasos y las figuras de barro de Numancia" (*Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnografische Kunst*, 1925) and "La cerámica de Clunia" (*Anuario de prehistoria Madrileña*, 1931-32).

Termantia (p. 102) situated in the municipality of Montejo de Licerias measures 770 by 365 metres, a space smaller than the 22 hectares occupied by Numantia. It was a city excavated out of rock and arranged on terraces.

5. Very extensive remains of the *Roman* period are scattered throughout the province of Soria. The later phases of Numantia and Termantia are rich in Roman ruins. Arcobriga (p. 38) preserves the remains of a Roman road. Augustobriga (p. 118), probably founded by Augustus, has Roman walls, a necropolis, mosaics and coins. With reference to the Roman coins it is strange that the author does not give bibliographical notice of the definitive work of Antonio Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda Hispanica* (Madrid, 1926). Cuevas de Soria (p. 59) has the remains of a Roman *villa rustica*, 80 by 60 metres (fig. 8) with rooms grouped around a central patio and dating from the end of the second century. Several mosaics from this villa show geometrical patterns (fig. 9). One pavement of the villa (plate I) combines a spiral and geometric pattern and is very well pre-

served. Another very interesting late Roman Imperial mosaic, showing a style anticipating the Christian catacomb paintings, appears in Uccero 2° (p. 164). This mosaic (fig. 23) represents Bellerophon on Pegasus slaying the Chimera. The scene is described by an inscription. Unfortunately only one "L" appears in the text which records the inscription, whereas two "L's" in the name of Bellerophon clearly show in the original. Beneath the main scene appear birds confronting vases and symmetrically posed fish. The mosaic, it would seem, deserves further study. The Roman arch of Medinaceli has already been mentioned. Renieblas 2° (p. 140) has the remains of five Roman camps which afford excellent opportunity for the study of Roman castrametation. Roman epigraphical remains from at least forty-seven sites are reproduced in the fascicle.

6. *Visigothic* remnants, although not numerous, appear in nineteen of the about two hundred sites described. Late Termantia 5° (p. 115) gives up evidence of Visigothic habitation in a bronze now in the Museo Celtibérico of Soria. Late Numantia 5° (p. 79) preserves the ruins of what was perhaps a Visigothic aisled edifice. Visigothic fragments from Soria (p. 153) are preserved in the collection of Rómulo Bosch of Barcelona. In a tomb at Ventosilla de San Juan (p. 173) were found a pendant of bronze and a cramp iron of the Visigothic type.

The book *Carta arqueológica de España: Soria*, by B. Taracena Aguirre proves that the province of Soria is a mine of archaeological artefacts. The data concerning these artefacts are presented factually, clearly and succinctly. In almost every instance at least period dates are assigned to each site. Without doubt this publication will be most helpful to the archaeologist and historian. It is to be hoped that the other fascicles of the projected series will follow in quick succession. Before concluding it is a pleasure to report that the type and printing of this fascicle are extremely clear and readable and that typographical errors are relatively sparse.

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K. T. PARKER, *The Drawings of Hans Holbein in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. 64; frontis. and 85 pls. \$5.00.

A. E. POPHAM, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1945. Pp. 172; 320 pls. \$10.00.

Dr. Parker has been persuaded to pause long enough in his continuation of the Ashmolean Museum's drawing catalogue to prepare the present volume of Holbein drawings. This volume is one of a series devoted to the Windsor collection, parts of which have been published by Leo van Puyvelde and Anthony Blunt. Sir Kenneth Clark's volumes on the Windsor Leonardos and Randall Davies' book on the Victorian watercolors in the collection, though issued by different publishers, are also parts of the story.

The Holbein series, in fame hardly second to the Leonardos, have had a greater popularity, and have also been bones of contention because of their condition. The predominantly historical nature of the introduction and the circumstantial quality of the catalogue of such familiar material do not allow Dr. Parker much scope for his lively personal mixture of learning and geniality; but his connoisseurship is ever present. He is respectful of the great work of Ganz both in publishing the admirable facsimiles of Holbein drawings and in compiling the critical catalogue of the master's whole work; but he is more generous than Ganz, and he gives precise reasons for his generosity. Parker finds convincing arguments for restoring to the master himself the portraits of *Charles Wingfield* and the *Earl of Southampton* and several others (one could wish him to have been firmer about the re-establishment of the head of *Sir Thomas Parry*; the

drawing is, as he admits, a little flabby, but so was the subject). He also insists eloquently on the quality and the comparatively untouched condition of such a portrait as "*Ormond*"; indeed, one of the two great virtues of this book is the careful justice with which Parker discusses the relation of present appearance to probable original state.

The other great virtue is the new photographs taken by Alfred Carlebach and reproduced in half-tone at a reduction of about one-third from the dimensions of the drawings. The only complaint this reviewer has against them is that certain erasures mentioned in the catalogue are not visible in the plates; these are chiefly erasures of names inscribed by later hands, and the loss is of little consequence. The indented lines of the tracing for transfer to the panel, which Parker often mentions as disturbing to the eye, are scarcely evident, which in one sense is a gain. The illustrations are perhaps to be preferred to the extremely contrasty offset reproductions which have appeared in some previous Phaidon books. By the way, the price of the book works out at about seven cents a plate, which is good.

In addition to the plates there are two dozen text figures of related paintings and other drawings, as well as the frontispiece devoted to the grisaille of *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, a full-dress example of the drawing made for its own sake if not merely for flattery. Best of all, however, are the half-dozen details at full size which help to uphold the author's representations about the condition of some much-criticized drawings. There is a revealing comparison between the *Archbishop Warham*, a rubbed semi-wreck though devoid of the penwork which usually gets wholesale condemnation, and the *Sir John Godsalue*, a drawing of elaborate mixed technique in remarkably good preservation.

It is important to remember that the mixed technique of many of the Windsor Holbeins was a matter of the artist's convenience. As Parker points out, he was not producing finished work for clients as Clouet did, but drawing preparatory notes for paintings which would be precise in detail and rich in texture. Whether or not Holbein used the ancestor of the physionotrace, the strengthening of certain contours in ink was a thing he chose to do for the purpose of accuracy, not for appearance's sake. If he had not already done this, the anonymous later retouchers would almost certainly not have followed suit, but contented themselves with chalk, the major medium of the series. Where it suited Holbein best to present a costume or some tonorial detail with the brush, he did so, and if he chose not to bother to fill in a large area of local color, he wrote the color in.

Parker's point is that it is possible in most cases to distinguish between retouching and the master's hand; this he proceeds to do with a skill and completeness which leave this reviewer little room for quibbling (I do not think the hair of *Simon George* above suspicion, nor that of the *Ecclesiastic* known as *Dean Colet*).

While freely admitting the damage to which much handling and the fragility of chalk have exposed these portraits, Parker plausibly defends them against the charge that they are mostly tampered with. He emphasizes particularly the brilliance of some obviously autographic brush passages, the sensitiveness of modeling where the chalk has not suffered, and the difference between original penwork (as in the unknown *Lady*, No. 47) and the fussy or schematic lines of the retouchers. In the full-size detail of *Reskimer* one may read plainly the difference between Holbein's chalk lines and those of the "improvers." The rightness of all the values in *Sir John Godsalue* or *Lady Elyot* or the unknown *Lady*, No. 61, is an argument for their genuineness and good condition, as the wrongness of the values is against the *Countess of Surrey* or *Sir Nicholas Poyntz* (No. 34) — a point perhaps not sufficiently stressed by Parker. The retraced contours of the *Lady* (No. 41) called *Princess Mary* seem positively to float half an inch off the picture plane.

There are satisfactory notes on the sitters, incorporating the notes of Lodge (written to accompany Chamberlaine's *Imitations*) and correcting some accreted errors. To many readers it will be fascinating news that in 1535 Henry VIII ordered his long-haired and predominantly clean-shaven courtiers to cut their hair short and wear beards — a circumstance which has helped stylistic considerations in settling many questions of date. Dr. Parker's review of the long and not uninterrupted pedigree of the drawings themselves is good reading. So is his examination of the problem of Holbein's use of a glass tracing device, which is wisely left unresolved, and his corollary remarks on monocular *versus* binocular vision.

To the question of the later inscriptions, which comes up in the text, your reviewer would like to add a comment. This is that the person who inserted the names was probably not a regular sign-writer, else he would not consistently have misunderstood and reversed the thick and thin strokes of the capital W (the V he managed correctly). Further, he was certainly influenced by French eighteenth-century printing-types, notably the one now called "Nicholas Cochin Bold." Incidentally, it is disconcerting to learn that the lettering of some of Ganz's facsimiles was "corrected." We might excuse such tampering if we were sure nothing else was affected, but one such tampering can lead to another; so we begin to wonder, and to ask, "What *is* a facsimile?"

Parker's remark on the over-indulgent public treatment of Bartolozzi's *Imitations* (published by John Chamberlaine, 1792-1800) also deserves comment. Bartolozzi, seeing that Holbein's drawings were not exactly *disegni* by the definition that he probably used, made them in his prints more painting-like than they in fact are. He "muffed" them because his technique was unsuited to the purpose. His basic line-and-stipple method, derived from Piranesi, Tiepolo, and Callot (perfect, as Parker says, for reproducing Guercino's pen-drawings), was no more an equipment for translating Holbein's mixed media than it was for reproducing, say, Baroccio's pastel head-studies. The English engravers who were brought up on translating tone in mezzotint were better prepared: many of Charles Rogers' men would have been good. Pond and Knapton or Ploos van Amstel (if they had been available) would have been splendid; even some of the stable of engravers who worked for the Comte de Caylus would have been better than Bartolozzi.

One has to admit that there are times when a pre-photographic "imitation" of a drawing tells more about it than all but the finest modern reproduction. The eye and hand of the engraver could differentiate between effects purposely produced by the medium in the hand of the original draftsman, and accidental effects produced by the grain of a paper. By printing on paper similar to that of the original, a more spiritually truthful "facsimile," so far as texture is concerned, was secured than is possible now, when the camera records breaks in chalk lines over bumpy old laid paper and then causes these to be carefully reproduced on a dead-surfaced wove paper. Likewise the skilled engraver could skip the water-stains and other adventitious detail of poorly-preserved sheets.

The plates of Dr. Parker's new book are not "facsimiles," but they are of excellent quality and entirely honest. In combination with his text, they are a pleasure and a good buy.

The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci is a work of popularization in two ways: it reproduces under one cover at a truly reasonable price the bulk of Leonardo's pictorial drawings, even including a few of the purely diagrammatic ones; and it offers a minimum of critical apparatus, most of the material found in a full-dress catalogue being reduced to running comment in the text and to a list of illustrations in briefest form. But this is also an admirable piece of reticent scholarship: it avoids rehearsal of the thousand theories on Leonardo, and permits the drawings to

speak for themselves. This is almost the first time this has happened since some of the Windsor anatomical drawings were reproduced in one of the series of "imitations of drawings" of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mr. Popham has provided a perfectly adequate bibliography, devoted almost entirely to objective studies, and omitting romantic speculations. There is also a Leonardo chronology from documents, and further a concordance of the numbers of Popham's reproductions with those of Berenson's and Clark's catalogues, the *Commissione Vinciana* publications, and Bodmer's *Klassiker der Kunst* volume. He covers fairly and briefly points of difference between himself and Sir Kenneth Clark, but otherwise skips polemics. The categories chosen for his chapters of text are somewhat arbitrary, in the British Museum style, but if they had been even more arbitrary in the Witt Library style it would not have mattered very much. The point is that in fewer than a hundred pages of pleasant reading Mr. Popham has interwoven necessary technical information on media, chronology, and purpose of the drawings with satisfactory amounts of historical setting and of his own measured appreciation of Leonardo.

In other words, this is no high-toned eruption, but a needed addition to the stock of books about drawings and draftsmen. It gives Leonardo back to the reader comparatively undamaged. Somewhat paradoxically, therefore, the reviewer, by way of reviewing the book itself, can do little more than advise buying it and using it with pleasure, whereas he is moved by the sight of so large a group of the artist's works to review Leonardo a little.

The assembly of so large a body of drawings does not diminish the stature of that man of genius and scope, but it does clarify the qualities and the failings, especially in regard to the fields of his interest in which his personality allowed him to accomplish what he intended. Without knowing anything of the aspects of Leonardo which have caused scandal, it would be possible to read from the drawings much of the record of an asocial personality who could do anything but finish a job, who could observe and describe an objective fact to perfection and find reality in intricate mechanical relationships, but whose human relationships were so equivocal and (in a sense) shapeless that his drawn inventions in human form cannot compare in quality with his mechanical ones or with his descriptions.

It has been said of Andrea del Sarto (by Berenson and others) that he was pretty poor at composition sketches and other such imagined exercises, but that when he had a model in front of him he could draw like an angel. In a somewhat different sense this is true of Leonardo. If one compares the merely exploratory or the really inventive drawings of hydraulic devices and military machines with both the groping and the more definitive composition sketches, one finds the designs based on groups of human beings far less substantial. In the famous sketches for the *Adoration of the Magi* (Popham 42 and 53), especially the Uffizi sheet, it is the linear perspective rather than the personages that gives life to the whole; the personages are frankly inept. In the other early sketches of groups of figures, some connected with the *Adoration*, some later growing into the *Last Supper*, there is an occasional lively motion, well-remembered attitude, or twist of the head or expression of the summarily-indicated eye, but on the whole the people of these imagined scenes are piffling or conventional or both. Only in such a drawing as the Windsor representation of a cannon being raised to a gun-carriage (Popham 305), in which the struggling nudes are necessary to the operation of the machine, is there much sense of reality in the figures. The routine abbreviations are unexpressive and clumsy, being miles away from the abbreviations of Rembrandt, who could make an abrupt stenographic version of an arm or leg remarkably eloquent. But Rembrandt cared about human beings *en masse*.

If one then compares even the best of the imagined person-

ages with the studies made from flesh and blood or indeed from corpses, one finds the studies not suffering at all from being labored over, but full of a life that is not so fully present in the sketches. I am aware of the danger of making comparisons of quality across the boundaries of category, but consider the comparisons worth making none the less. Take two well-known and fine drawings for the *Battle of Anghiari* (Popham 191 and 197): they lack the staying power, as objects set before the eyes, of the best of the direct nude studies, such as P. 236, or of the anatomies, such as the *Heart* or the *Embryo* of P. 248 and 249. There is one among the excellent confrontations which particularly elucidates this point. The two early Windsor drawings P. 22 and 23 are respectively studies in silverpoint of a woman's head and shoulders and pen sketches of a woman and child plus numerous characteristic Leonardesque profiles. The latter is a beautiful *mise en page*, and the principal subject and a minor running figure-sketch are full of animation, but the artist's devoting the rest of the sheet to his rather boring habit of fooling around with idealized or caricatured types reduces the character and (we might say) the spunk of this sheet below the degree of the other, in which the shifting studies of positions of the head, and of the modeling of throat and breast, are fascinating.

Incidentally, one of the most sympathetic of the figure studies is the Windsor "man drawn as an anatomical figure to show the heart, lungs, and main arteries" (P. 232); this figure has a truly human face, care-worn but mobile, for once free of the sentimentality or sadism found in most Leonardo faces. This face, with the figure, which combines accuracy with heroism, produces a striking effect not unlike that of Dürer's self-portrait diagnostic of liver trouble, or Blake's little notebook-sheet devoted to a male and a female nude side by side, for once free of Blake's idealistic distortions. In a slightly different direction a comparison similar to the above series can be made with the children of the Burlington House cartoon and the Louvre *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. A chalk drawing in the Accademia in Venice (P. 185) carries two versions of a little St. John, carefully studied as to the body but provided with a conventional sentimental baby head; below and at larger scale are a study of an infant's torso, details of a foot and arms, and a portrait head of the infant which has real character. In the cartoon, the sugar doll that is the little St. John is a different matter. A Windsor drawing (P. 181) which may have to do with the cartoon is confronted by Popham with the detail of the Christ Child's head from the latter. Again the directly studied pen drawing of a standing infant, though Leonardo has perhaps gone amuck with the curls that he loved, has infinitely more character and substance than the Child of the cartoon. The whole cartoon, indeed, a great exercise in composition and engineering, is so far as human relationships are concerned simply insincere. It has been usual to say that the Milanese school's sticky Madonnas were less fine than Leonardo's because the painters did not possess in so high a degree as the master certain necessary qualities. This is no doubt true, but I suspect that the real reason why they are so sticky is that Leonardo set a bad example; it is quite possible that some of the followers were far more capable of setting forth pictorially a sound human relationship than Leonardo, and that it was admiration for externalities that made the difference.

No. Leonardo the draftsman was at his greatest when he was inventing inanimate objects with moving parts, and when he was observing inanimate nature or human beings who were holding still for him. The happy compromise between these turns up of course in the horses. Horses are alive and have moving parts, but they were incapable of afflicting Leonardo with the enthusiasms and jealousies that commonly surround such an over-endowed but inhibited person as he was. So the horse drawings, whether imagined in compositions or observed for detail, are almost always magnificent. The investigations of the

behavior of water likewise present an interesting compromise, for they combine observation and intuition with decorative invention; in the Windsor sheet P. 281, inquiring observation is mixed with an almost Beardsleyan pattern. Mr. Popham cannot conceal his fondness for the landscapes, the maps, and the drawings of flowers and water. On the last he says: "The cinematographic vision which could see, the prodigious memory which could retain, and the hand which could record these evanescent and intangible formations are little short of miraculous. These drawings do not however so much convey the impression of water as of some exquisite submarine vegetable growth."

The reproductions, which were printed in England, are an interesting and rather successful experiment in printing in half-tone on a paper much less glossy than is usually considered necessary. The format, a quarto slightly smaller than that latterly used for books about drawings, is comfortable for eyes and hands.

Some great men are skilled in human contacts, and thus are effective leaders in their own time among people who know them in the flesh. Others, not so well fitted for human society, must exercise their influence at a distance of time or space, by way of published utterance, prophecy, or picture. Mr. Popham helps to spread the influence of Leonardo's genius which was for so long bottled up by personality difficulties in his own time and paucity of publication thereafter.

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MANUEL GÓMEZ-MORENO, *Las águilas del renacimiento español*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Diego Velázquez, 1941, pp. 271; 481 figs.

Gómez-Moreno, the patriarch of Spanish historians of art, has a long list of important publications to his credit, works which are notable in every case for the abundance of new material presented. His volumes in the *Catálogo monumental de España*, including the *Provincia de León* (Madrid, 1925) and the *Provincia de Zamora* (Madrid, 1927), serve as indispensable reference books for all students of the mediaeval period. Likewise in the mediaeval field are his most important achievements, *Iglesias mozárabes* (Madrid, 1919), and *El arte románico español* (Madrid, 1934).

The present volume, *Aguilas del renacimiento español* is devoted to four important figures of the Spanish Renaissance, Bartolomé Ordóñez, Diego de Siloe, Pedro Machuca, and Alonso Berruguete. The author had previously studied the sculptors, although less exhaustively, in *La escultura del renacimiento en España* (Florence, Pantheon, 1931) and in "En la capilla real de Granada," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 1, 1925, pp. 245-288; II, 1926, pp. 99-128. The importance of the *Aguilas* as in Gómez-Moreno's other publications lies in the vast fund of material presented, much of it for the first time. Illustrations are lavish in quantity, including numerous details of virtually every known work of the four artists. The number (481) of the illustrations was made possible by government subsidy, but the quality of paper and printing is unfortunately very poor, due to uncontrollable conditions of war. Not for many years to come, however, will it be necessary to reproduce again all of the works illustrated here in such great detail. An appendix of eight pages includes transcriptions of a large number of documents relating to the four masters. The testament of Ordóñez, an invaluable source in the study of the artist, which had previously been published in a rare pamphlet¹ is reproduced in full. Most important are the new documents

1. Pietro Andrei, *Sopra Domenico Fancelli fiorentino e Bartolommeo Ordognes spagnuolo*, Massa, 1871.

concerning Diego de Siloe's activity in Granada, Ubeda, Al-fácar, and Plasencia.

The text of *Aguilas del renacimiento español* opens with a short study of Bartolomé Ordóñez, the essential features of which had previously appeared in earlier publications of the author. The most serious omission is the tomb of Andrea Bonifacio in SS. Severino e Sosio in Naples, an indisputable work of the artist first published by Adolfo Venturi,² the existence of which seems to have escaped the author's attention. Throughout the book a lack of familiarity with the writings of other non-Spanish scholars is in evidence. It is interesting in connection with the Bonifacio tomb that both it and the Caracciolo Altar were mistakenly attributed until recently to the Spaniard, Pietro di Prato, architect of the small church in the Castel Sant'Elmo at Naples. The attributions originated in 1624 with Cesare d'Eugenio Caracciolo.³ Gómez-Moreno still persists in assigning to Ordóñez the tomb of Galeazzo Pandone in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples, a work of the Neapolitan school in which it is difficult to find any trace of his style.

By far the longest and most important section of the *Aguilas* is devoted to Diego de Siloe. In his introductory remarks Gómez-Moreno restates his opinions about Gil de Siloe, the presumed father or close relative of Diego, identifying Gil gratuitously with a Flemish sculptor, Gil de Ambers, and several other men with the name Gil. He now attributes the façade of San Gregorio in Valladolid to the late Gothic master, a work which I have previously shown was influenced by Gil, but for many reasons is unlikely to be his handiwork.⁴ The author deserves the credit for having been the first to discover that the man named Diego, who worked in Naples with Ordóñez, was Diego de Siloe and not the former's infant son, as had been previously supposed.⁵ The reference to Siloe in Ordóñez's will as his partner and stylistic considerations are the proof. Gómez-Moreno's division of the sculpture between the two men in both the Caracciolo altar and the Barcelona choir-stalls is, however, completely arbitrary.

In the consideration of Diego's Burgos period the author rightly disregards the synthetic personality which Weise constructed as the Meister des Hochaltars der Condestable Kapelle.⁶ Since I have previously discussed the problems of Diego's Burgos period in the *ART BULLETIN*, subsequent to the appearance of Gómez-Moreno's book, it is needless to repeat all of the same opinions now.⁷ Mention should be made, however, of the two hitherto unknown works of outstanding quality discovered and published in the *Aguilas* for the first time: the beautiful marble statuette of *St. Sebastian* in Barbadillo de Herreros and the half-length *Holy Family* in wood of the Valladolid Museum. On the other hand, the author rejects quite unreasonably the fine and characteristic relief of the *Madonna* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, attributing it without any foundation to Gregorio Vigarni along with related works by still another hand.⁸

The long study of Diego de Siloe's activity in Granada (1528-63) is the first since Justi's.⁹ Whereas the latter devoted his attention chiefly to the artist's masterpiece, Granada Cathedral, the present book contains all of the known architecture, sculpture, and a fund of new documents. The documented churches at Guadix, Iznalloz, Moclin, Montefrío, and Illora,

previously unpublished, add greatly to our knowledge of the Andalusian Renaissance. The writer goes off the deep end, on the other hand, in his insistence on giving to Siloe the design of the Sacristía Mayor of Seville Cathedral. The lavish plateresque style is not Diego's and the ample documentation of the structure to Diego de Riaño and Martín Gáinza cannot be so lightly cast aside.¹⁰ Among the late sculptures attributed to Diego the fountain called the Pilar del Toro is the most interesting and most acceptable. In the case of the bust of *St. John* in the museum at Guadix, it is permissible to question whether Siloe's signature on the nimbus is authentic. The monograph on Diego de Siloe concludes with a review of the artist's reputation as gleaned from the writings of his contemporaries. Siloe has at last received his proper recognition as one of the truly great figures of the Spanish Renaissance. He towers above all other architects of his generation. As a sculptor he was the best of the classicists, although less dynamic than that highly original friend and contemporary, Alonso Berruguete.

The fame of Pedro Machuca, architect and painter, to whom the third biography is devoted rests upon one work, the unfinished palace of Charles V in Granada. Presumably a Spaniard by birth, he first appears in Spain at Jaén in 1520. The large majority of his documented paintings have been destroyed. Those which still exist are third-rate, faulty in draughtsmanship and poorly conceived. He obviously had seen the work of Michelangelo, but his attempts at monumental sculptural paintings are provincial. Gómez-Moreno attributes to Machuca the *St. John Evangelist* and *St. Catherine* in the Capilla de los Reyes Viejos in Toledo Cathedral, paintings unrelated to the artist's style which Professor Chandler Post will publish as the indisputable production of another master. The palace of Charles V at Granada is an important milestone in Spanish Renaissance architecture. At an early date (1527) Machuca introduced the High Renaissance to Spain. Its unusual plan with great circular patio is eloquent testimony to the monumental ambitions of the period. Pedro Machuca proved himself first-rate as an architect, quite the contrary to his provincialism as a painter. He never formed a school as did Diego de Siloe whose style is Spanish, possibly because his palace of Charles V is an unadulterated importation from Italy. On the surface, Machuca seems to have had a negligible influence in the development of Renaissance architecture in Spain, but, if the problem were thoroughly investigated, many cases of classicism, prior to Herrera, might be traceable to him.

The last section of the *Aguilas*, which is concerned with a brief review of the principal works of Alonso Berruguete, is the most disappointing of the four biographies. It falls far short of the earlier and fundamental studies of the artist by Agapito y Revilla and Ricardo de Orueta.¹¹ Weise's extensive contributions of recent years pass unnoticed, as indeed do all publications not written in Spanish.¹² This new material presented by the German scholar has revealed the extraordinary fecundity of Berruguete's followers and has broadened the horizon of Spanish Renaissance sculpture notably. Especially regrettable is the omission of the large marble relief of the *Resurrection* in the *trascoro* of Valencia Cathedral. Weise's publication of the work as one of Berruguete's earliest (about 1518) is so convincing that one wonders how anyone could have failed to recognize it before.¹³ In his entire career the artist never produced a finer or more characteristic piece of sculpture. The only novelties in Gómez-Moreno's study of Alonso Berruguete are the attribution

2. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. x, part 1, Milan, 1935, pp. 102-103.

3. *Napoli sacra*, Naples, 1624, pp. 160, 324. See H. E. Wethey, "The Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez and Diego de Siloe," *ART BULLETIN*, xxv, 1943, pp. 231-232.

4. H. E. Wethey, *Gil de Siloe and His School*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 111.

5. *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, x, 1934, p. 184.

6. Georg Weise, *Spanische Plastik*, Reutlingen, 1929, p. 124.

7. Wethey, "The Early Works of Bartolomé Ordóñez," pp. 325-345.

8. Wethey, "A Madonna and Child by Diego de Siloe," *ART BULLETIN*, xx, 1940, pp. 190-196.

9. Karl Justi, *Miscellaneen*, Berlin, 1908, II, pp. 243-261.

10. Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental*, Seville, 1890, II, pp. 401-405.

11. Agapito y Revilla, "Alonso Berruguete," *Boletín de la sociedad castellana de excursiones*, IV, 1909-10, pp. 513-521, 537-545; V, 1911, pp. 25-29; Ricardo de Orueta, *Berruguete y su obra*, Madrid, 1917.

12. Georg Weise, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 125-150; III, pp. 285-310; IV, pp. 22-39.

13. G. Weise, "Ein unbeachtetes Frühwerk Berrugetes in der Kathedrale zu Valencia," *Pantheon*, xxii, 1938, pp. 279-283.

to his earliest youth, prior to his years in Italy, of the painted retable of St. Lucy in his birthplace, Paredes de Nava, and the painted wings of an altarpiece in San Martín at Medina del Campo. Both retables seem to me to have been painted about twenty-five years later and perhaps to betray the master's influence.

Alonso Berruguete was one of the greatest and most original artists Spain ever produced. In spite of thorough artistic tutelage in the Renaissance in Italy, he returned to Spain not as an Italianate sculptor, but to create works of unparalleled originality and emotional intensity. He became the El Greco of Spanish sculpture fifty years before El Greco developed his mature style. Few art historians or critics have recognized his true stature. As a Spaniard, Gómez-Moreno acknowledges the emotional penetration of Berruguete's art, although he seems to regret the distortion and sacrifice of physical beauty which are the essence of the master's Expressionism.

Águilas del renacimiento español contains an immensely valuable corpus of material in the hundreds of illustrations and the numerous documents which the author has transcribed from Spanish archives. These documents, which represent years of painstaking research, are the foundation upon which to build further studies, and no student can fail to be grateful for them. Gómez-Moreno has once more proved his untiring industry in the search for original sources from which to create the still far from complete history of the Spanish Renaissance.

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ALBERT TEN EYCK GARDNER, *Yankee Stonecutters: The First American School of Sculpture, 1800-1850*, New York, Published for The Metropolitan Museum of Art by Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. 80. Pls. xii. \$4.00.

In a beautifully designed format, nine by twelve inches, with the text arranged in two columns, Mr. Gardner's study of the American sculptors in the first half of the last century makes an attractive first impression. The illustrations from contemporary woodcuts and lithographs, as well as from photographs of works of sculpture, add to the reader's pleasure. The fluent style, the vivid use of contemporary letters and journalistic criticisms, and the well-organized factual material, hitherto widely scattered, give the survey abundant justification. The author is always informative, often wise in his judgments; yet the book is somewhat less than definitive. The period of American sculpture here discussed is both more and less significant than the reader might gather, depending upon one's point of view and objective.

The first protest of the reader might be over the title. Until the recent world wars when all American soldiers in Europe were classed as Yankees, the term "Yankee" referred to persons with New England background. Clearly this more limited connotation is not intended by Mr. Gardner. Not only are many of the sculptors discussed natives of various states then included in the Union, but many of them were transplanted Europeans. Probably, the author's title was derived from Horatio Greenough's book, *The Travels, Observations, and Experiences of a Yankee Stonecutter*, issued in 1852 under the pseudonym, Horace Bender. Yet, however much the author values this suggestive travelogue, his enthusiasm for it hardly justifies an ambiguous title.

A somewhat similar comment might be made of the tone in which the book is written. Much of it is semi-ironical, which makes for readability, but hardly for judicious criticism. It is all too apparent to students of the arts that tastes of succeeding generations vary so greatly that ludicrous comments are well-nigh irresistible in an appraisal of an outmoded style. But such re-

marks are best kept within the realms of conversation or of journalism. This word of caution is the more apt when the reader finds that Mr. Gardner himself on occasion grows breathless when he reaches a person or an idea he considers worthy — as breathless as the Godey-like poems he delights to append to many of his sketches. For example, in the account of Horatio Greenough's stimulating ideas, we read, "There is a Himalayan air of simplicity and wisdom in his conclusions that is worthy of an Asiatic sage," and the sketch closes with some sentimental lines from George H. Calvert's *Monody on the Death of Horatio Greenough*, at which moment the reader is obviously not invited to smile. Even Michelangelo has figured in the discussion, though allusions to Praxiteles have occasioned witticisms in many other cases. No, the stonecutters of the early nineteenth century and their patrons may have been immature in terms of skill and culture; they were not inane. And it is useful to recall that in our own day extravagant praise of a contemporary is not unknown. The series of encomiums offered Alfred Stieglitz in *America and Alfred Stieglitz* come to mind.

A further general observation concerns itself with the manner in which the volume originated. An introductory note tells us that a catalogue of early American sculpture owned by the Metropolitan Museum has been expanded. While this fact has not often been allowed to blur the focus, it has perhaps influenced the choice of illustrations. Too large a portion seem to be examples from that particular collection, and the finest works of the individual sculptors not always included. Owing to the representative completeness of the Metropolitan's possessions, this difficulty is not as great as might be feared. But Ball and Bartholomew and Randolph Rogers are missing, though they are widely illustrative of their day and its sculptural expression. And one wonders why Rinehart's *Latona* is given rather than his *Clytie*, though a replica of the latter is in the collection, or why his *Taney* is not even mentioned.

In fact, it becomes clear that Horatio Greenough's ideas, Rimmer's expressive realism, and perhaps Palmer's occasional freedom from neo-classicism are the chief features of the period for which Mr. Gardner has more than an amused interest. One would wish he had taken time out to make clearer the standards and characteristics he would use as criteria, for possession or lack of which a generation is to be judged. We know what he likes, but not why.

A lithograph of a painting by Weisman and Leutze, showing Lafayette viewing Canova's statue of Washington in the Old State House at Raleigh, North Carolina, makes a typical frontispiece — excellent for a treatise on manners; more debatable for one on sculpture.

The body of the book has its material arranged with great clarity. Two chapters are concentrated on the patronage of the sculptors, two on the men themselves, and two on the "art-world" of Italy, followed by useful appendices. Many of the reviewer's following comments are made on matters of minor importance or detail and do not materially mar the value of the text. On the first page Hawthorne's remark that much of the sculpture of the time would be found suitable for future generations to build into walls or burn into lime is mentioned, with the added comment that the suggestion has not yet been followed. Only later is it learned that the remark was made in reference to portrait busts, while if it is taken as sound art criticism, the excuse for writing the book is gone. The surprise expressed shortly afterward that the sculptors were so oversold on neo-classic forms is hardly noteworthy when one considers Jefferson's influence in the period, followed by that of Nicholas Biddle, in the neighboring field of architecture; or, let us say, the influence of post-impressionism in American painting in recent decades. Such waves of influence are simply aspects of art history and occasion abundance of mediocrity. To create within their dominance or to progress beyond them are both noteworthy achievements.

The prevalence of political patronage is appropriately stressed, and the generous size of the commissions; but other sources of encouragement, among them, the merchants of Boston, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and many another town, might also have been underscored. Likewise, the importance of funerary art, of wax works, of casts, of portrait busts in the day before photography, is adequately emphasized, and the wide distribution of works of sculpture made possible by lotteries, the sale of plaster miniatures, and so on. And the preeminence, as time screens the many to reveal the few, of such critics as J. J. Jarves, Cooper, Hawthorne, and Emerson is made clear. But, when original criticism is thrown in, not of the matter in mind, but of other days and intentions, the reader must protest. In one place he reads, "In a sense the melancholy machines turned out by the sculptors of the nineteenth century are somewhat akin to the 'art-machines' of the present day abstract sculpture. If the works of Hiram Powers cause us to smile from our cultural pinnacle, what will future generations do when confronted with some of the sculpture of to-day? What indeed? These new parlor machines do not even distill the syrup of sentiment — can one be sure of finding any significance whatever in a 'construction' of sheet metal and string? What fascinating conclusions are not open to the critic a hundred years from now?" Let us hope the suggested critic will have an interest in understanding the intention of the time he discusses and a greater acumen than to use a Hiram Powers as a representative of his period.

At times, the reader is merely bewildered. "If we 'look on sculpture as history' with Mr. Emerson, we find reflected in polished marble, a valuable and oftentimes entertaining record of the ideals and enthusiasms of a period in American history which we are beginning to appreciate. As social and human documents the sculptors' lives and works take on a new importance. They illuminate the sad history of the triumph of the machine over the artist and craftsman who struggles to find a place in the essentially hostile environment of an expanding frontier. There the unfettered freedoms of life in a cultural and geographical wilderness evolved, in perplexing contradiction, an exaggerated bondage to convention, simultaneously with an unhappy liberation from long sustained tradition." The perplexity seems primarily in the mind of the author, since the aspiring sculptors from farm and shop and professional school seem to have been singularly clear-minded as to their objective and the road thereto.

In the discussion of Hiram Powers emphasis is placed on the importance of the assistance of the Italian marble cutters employed in the studio, though it depends on which part of page 31 one is reading whether one gathers the assistance did or did not approach inspiration. Hawthorne is quoted in another place as noting that frequently these same marble cutters diluted the plastic idea of the original models. In interpreting Story's melancholy interest in tragedies of long ago, the influence of Salem as a birthplace, an interpretation often dusted off for Hawthorne, is passed over for the sake of a theory that Story's realization that he could never more than play at sculpturing darkened his moods. The evidence for believing that this self-knowledge embittered his later life is not given.

The short sketch of Rimmer is excellent, though the neglect encountered during his lifetime is perhaps over-stressed. After all, he alone of the sculptors discussed achieved a full-fledged biography written shortly after his death by a younger craftsman, Truman H. Bartlett. (The forthcoming biographies of both Rimmer and Jarves promise to be highly useful in our current interest in American cultural history.) Crawford is spoken of as the first to go to Rome to study sculpture (1835) and later Horatio Greenough is quoted as saying he was studying art in Rome in 1826. A comparison which might have been suggestive is overlooked when Greenough's *Washington* in its original position in the Rotunda of the Capitol is not discussed in contrast to French's *Lincoln* in the Lincoln Memorial.

Greenough's germinal, if somewhat chaotic, ideas on functional organization as basic to all design are alluded to on page 41 as "demolishing the pretensions of the so-called 'Greek Revival.'" Yet Talbot Hamlin has recently used the same source to bolster his contention that architecture of the Greek Revival was basically functional. It may be that both Gardner and Hamlin are justified in their reading of their source and that the varied conclusions merely indicate the suggestiveness of the ideas; or, rather, Gardner may think of Greek Revival architecture as a matter of letter, Hamlin, as one of spirit. Further, the reader may ask if Mr. Gardner looked at Clark Mills' *Jackson* in the light of Greenough's concepts. If he did, he could hardly have failed to recognize an excellent example of functional organization. One might even question if John Rogers is to be considered primarily a "reporter," instead of an able folk-artist, from the Greenough point of view.

Finally, a few trivia may be mentioned. On page 65 the university of whose faculty Dr. Garlick is spoken of as making portrait busts is not named. On page 68 J. C. King is said to have made portrait busts of Emerson, J. Q. Adams, Agassiz, and Webster; "of the last four replicas were sold." A comma is needed for clarity. In the list of *The Successors* on page 74 Harriet Hosmer is hardly pertinent, as she has been treated already in the *Biographical Dictionary*. Further, the reference in the same list to "Ephraim Keyser (1850-?); active Baltimore 1904" could easily have been clarified by reference to the "Art in Baltimore" issue of *Art and Archaeology*, June 1925. The bibliography is full and valuable. Possible additions would be R. C. Smith, *A Biographical Index of American Artists*, Baltimore 1930; Fiske Kimball, *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver*, Portland 1940; W. S. Rusk, *Monuments and Memorials* (Art in Baltimore), Baltimore, 1924, 1929; and R. E. Jackman, *American Arts*, Chicago 1928.

Mr. Gardner says that before the Civil War American sculpture was "bemused by a romantic synthesis of myths, marble, and machines." In his book he has provided delightful proof of the soundness of this statement.

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MAURICE E. CHERNOWITZ, *Proust and Painting*, New York, International University Press, 1945. Pp. 261. \$3.75.

In the great final chapter of *A la Recherche du temps perdu* Proust concludes that art is the most real of all things, the sternest school in life, and in very truth the Last Judgment. In it, excuses count for nothing and good intentions are of no avail. Creative art for him is the sole source of happiness. It is the revelation of the qualitative differences in the way the world appears to us, differences which, but for art, would remain the eternal secret of each of us. Through art alone can we escape from ourselves and know what another sees of his universe, which is not the same as ours. Instead of perceiving only one world, our own, we are permitted by art to see a multitude of forms. We have as many worlds at our disposal as there are original artists; they differ more widely from one another than the worlds that roll through infinite space, and years after the glowing center from which they emanated has been extinguished, be it called Rembrandt or Vermeer, they continue to send us their own rays of light.

This is Proust's final vision of the place of art in the life of man. No other novelist has made art more integrally a part of his novel or brought a greater sensibility to its treatment. He presents it in each of its major aspects — painting, music, literature and the drama — through the characters of Elstir, Vineteuil, Bergotte and Berma. But it is Elstir, the painter, to whom he was plainly most attracted. Elstir receives a larger share of

the discussion, and his character is freer of the inadequacies with which Proust customarily endowed his creations. Even literature, at the end, yields to painting. As Bergotte (a composite picture perhaps of Bergson and Anatole France) lies dying, Vermeer's *View of Delft* comes into his mind. He remarks for the first time some small figures in blue, the pinkness of the ground, but above all the precious substance of a tiny patch of yellow wall. "That is how I ought to have written," he said. "My last books are too dry; I ought to have gone over them with several coats of paint, made my language exquisite in itself, like this little patch of yellow wall." But the vision shifted to a scene of even greater moment. A celestial balance appeared to Bergotte, which contained upon one of its scales his own life, and upon the other the little patch of wall so beautifully painted in yellow. He felt that the reality of the yellow outweighed his life.

Mr. Chernowitz's study is the first attempt at an exhaustive analysis of this vital aspect of Proust's work. However, it is not, as he several times asserts, the first systematic exploration of the subject. An acute and, within its space limits, thorough article on the question by Professor Thomas W. Bussom appeared in the February, 1943, issue of *The Romanic Review*. Both studies are valuable correctives to the numerous expositions of the role of music in Proust's novel, which tend to overstress the weight which he intended to allow that aspect of the art impulse. They also help to remedy the superficial view promulgated by Maurois that Proust did not have a natural taste for art.

Mr. Chernowitz's volume is a model of painstaking research. It is a careful effort to reveal the significance of painting in the last great novel in the history of fiction. He has been indefatigable in tracking down the discussions of painting and painters which are scattered through the labyrinthine pages of Proust's work; and he has followed the same thread through Proust's other writings, including the letters. He has also collected all the scraps of biographical data which have any bearing on his inquiry. The volume is thoroughly annotated, and there is an extensive and systematic bibliography at the end. He has confined himself, with one or two exceptions (notably a letter from Edouard Vuillard who testifies that Proust's interest in art was more than merely that of a writer: he showed genuine love for it), to material already in print; but he has brought that material together in a manner to emphasize the importance which Proust attached to painting. Mr. Chernowitz's study shows that Proust, like Tolstoy or Shakespeare, cannot be read generally. It is impossible for the reader of a work which exhibits the multitudinous facets of *A la Recherche du temps perdu* to perceive their full meaning simultaneously. Such a work, in order that it may be grasped, must be read again and again, each time from a special point of view. Even Clive Bell, who read the novel with other concerns in mind, missed in his volume on Proust what should for him have been one of its main attractions.

All his life Proust maintained a close connection with the Parisian art world. It is certain that he read a great deal on painting, and he was a contributor to the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, *Les arts de la vie* and *La revue blanche*. Baudelaire's poetic portraits of great painters were the model for the similar portraits by Proust in his first published volume. Zola's definition of art as an aspect of the universe seen through a temperament, and the Goncourts' similar definition of art as nature seen through individual eye-glasses, seem to have inspired Proust's final theory. He visited few galleries outside Paris, but those within the city he knew thoroughly. Among art critics and connoisseurs he had many friends — Edmond de Goncourt, Charles Ephrussi, Jules Laforgue, Emile Mâle, Vandoyer and Bernhard Berenson, with whom he corresponded. Above all he was most influenced by the fantastic Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, the hero of Huysmans' *A Rebours*. He knew the French artists of his time, from Degas to Madeleine Lemaire, although his closest friends were Forain, Helleu and Blanche. From these asso-

ciations he derived much of the material for his novel. The incident attributed to Bergotte on his death was based on his own experience in an effort to see the Vermeers at a Dutch show. The effort induced a severe stroke from which he nearly died.

Proust's eye was extraordinarily sensitive to color, and Mr. Chernowitz describes some of the distinctions which he made. He distinguished between an egg-shell white and a pearl gray, between a yellowish tinge and the shade of butter, between the grisaille which is akin to the gray of a spider web and that of a brownish silver. He also drew numerous distinctions between various pinks and reds, and he had a wide palette of blues. But this is not a subject in which it is safe to rely upon impressions. Arthur Symonds, who had a great familiarity with Coleridge (who continued the eighteenth-century predilection for green, but who added yellow and white, the dominant color characteristics in English literature since his day), had a totally different impression of that poet's use of color, than that revealed by a statistical count. Behind a color count is the idea that a writer's color-formula is a simple and reliable index to his view of the world. Thus it has been suggested that the predominance of green or blue — the colors of vegetation, the sky and the sea — means that we are in the presence of a poet of nature (Wordsworth and Shelley); the predominance of black, white, and yellow — colors that are rare in the world, and the color of golden impossibilities — means that the poet's vision is turned inward (Homer, Marlowe, Blake, Poe and Rossetti); red and its synonyms — the colors of blood and love — indicate an absorbing interest in man and woman (Chaucer and Whitman). Such studies as have been made along this line seem to bear out these conclusions. However, Mr. Chernowitz does not indicate which colors predominate in Proust.

Monet and Vermeer were the two painters to whom Proust was especially attracted. Early in life Giotto had a particular meaning for him, and Rembrandt interested him always. He knew Italian art well, and he mentions almost all the important painters except the Siennese. He refers to nearly all the leading Flemish and Dutch masters, and to Spanish, English and German artists. French artists, of course, for all centuries, are mentioned in the novel. Professor Bussom estimates that Proust refers to seventy-eight specific painters, and twenty-nine specific works. Rembrandt, Carpaccio, Vermeer, Giotto, Whistler, Botticelli, Leonardo, Poussin, Chardin, and Manet are most frequently mentioned. Masaccio, Castagno and Verrocchio are not mentioned at all, but the Louvre possessed nothing by them. Mr. Chernowitz concludes that Proust's taste was essentially an orthodox museum taste, formed by the painters recognized in his period, whose works could be seen in the museums and galleries which Proust was able to visit under the limitations of his illness.

Elstir's identity has been the subject of extensive discussion among Proustian critics. Several of Proust's characters were identified by him, but he remained silent about Elstir. Professor Chernowitz believes that he is essentially an Impressionist artist, representing particularly Claude Monet, but containing strong elements of Manet and Whistler, and including some overtones of Ruskin, Mâle and Ingres. In any event, Proust's concern with Elstir went beyond a mere interest in technique. He wanted, above all, to understand the creative impulse as it displays itself in the artist. Artistic genius, he thought, is like those extremely high temperatures which have the power to disintegrate combinations of atoms; the atoms are then combined afresh in a diametrically opposite order, following another type. Like musicians who, instead of making a fuss and asking for what they cannot have, content themselves with the instrument that comes to hand, the artist might say of anything, no matter what, that it would serve his purpose. Thus, Proust says, one feels unmistakably when one sees side by side ten portraits of different persons painted by Elstir, that they are all, first and foremost, Elstir's. In the tradition of French fiction Elstir must

stand in competition with Frenhofer of Balzac's *Le Chef-d'œuvre inconnu* (the technical information of which is attributed both to Gautier and Delacroix), Coriolis of the Goncourts' *Manette Salomon*, the best of all the studio novels, and with Lantier of Zola's *L'Œuvre*. Like his competitors, Elstir is limited by his age. His truth is the truth of Impressionism. However, as the painter-character in the French novel he has no superiors and few equals.

But the function of painting in Proust's novel is much more profound, as Mr. Chernowitz is at pains to show, than the mere introduction of artists as characters, or the use of painters' names as a literary device would indicate. These two procedures have been employed by many novelists, in English notably by Henry James and George Moore. With Proust, painting actually affected the structure of his novel and his method of writing, that is to say, his syntax. Every reader of Proust is impressed by the "little phrase" from the Sonata of Vinteuil, which we learn from Proust's correspondence was constructed of excerpts from sonatas by César Franck and Saint-Saëns, from a prelude of Wagner and a ballade of Fauré. It is the bond between Swann and Marcel; the symbol, when it is played at the Verdurins, of Swann's love for Odette; and finally the summation of all his changing emotions as the years pass. Vermeer's art, as René Huyghe was apparently the first to point out, fills a similar role. As a theme it waxes and wanes with the attraction between Swann and Odette. At first Swann declines Odette's invitation to tea, pleading that he is at work on a study of Vermeer. When they become lovers, the Botticelli motif rises to dominance, and Swann places on his desk a reproduction of one of Botticelli's paintings instead of a photograph of Odette. As he would draw it toward him he would imagine that he was holding Odette against his heart. But the Vermeer theme soon comes to the foreground again. Odette interrupts his work on Vermeer with questions about the painter, but she loses interest in Vermeer when she learns that nothing romantic is known of his life; at the same time her concern with Swann diminishes and she deceives him. But she quiets his suspicions by pretending an interest in Vermeer, who also, after the marriage, is utilized to indicate the decline of his love and the achievement of serenity. Painting is also interwoven with Proust's treatment of time, as in Elstir's evolution, in the idea of the painter as a memorialist of an epoch, and in the theory of the cyclical renewal of art illustrated by Delacroix and Monet.

No writer has made a more abundant use of the metaphor than Proust, and it is to painting that he frequently turns for his images. The moral decay of the Baron de Charlus is shown through an El Greco; the silhouettes of trees are presented through a Raphael background; Albertine Simonet's name is associated with Giotto; Swann's mental image of a kept woman is interwoven with an apparition of Gustave Moreau; Swann's vague understanding of Odette's life is compared with a Watteau study; sea-foam is expressed through the works of Pisanello and Galle; a part of Paris is presented by means of Piranesi's prints; through Rembrandt and Carpaccio we are able to form an impression of Dostoevski's women. Proust insisted that it was through analogies we reached reality, and that therefore it was best expressed by means of comparisons. He drew many of his ideas directly from Impressionism, and he attempted to reproduce in words the effects achieved by Monet, such as the reflections of sunlight and the treatment of the ocean as though it were a landscape. Just as Monet would paint fifteen consecutive views of his *Cathedrals* and *Poplars*, one for each hour of the day, Proust's narrator from his hotel window would follow the metamorphosis of light in the sky and on the sea. Finally, in his syntax he thought it advisable to convert adjectives into abstract substantives ("des fadeurs de crème"), to place color adjectives before their noun ("les blanches fourrures"), and to employ the descriptive use of the imperfect tense, which has the effect of protracting the pictorial element in a scene. Mr. Chernowitz notes that as long ago as 1879 Brunetière spoke of "literary" Impressionism and defined it as a systematic transposition of the painter's medium into the writer's medium. In this field Proust had many forerunners, from Baudelaire and Gautier to Rimbaud and Laforgue but, as Mr. Chernowitz shows, his own literary Impressionism was intensely individualistic.

Mr. Chernowitz's analysis of his topic is conducted with caution. He has brought together all the essential facts, but his generalizations are few in number. He has kept his eye resolutely on his objective and has left to others such matters as the exploration of the connection between Plato's and Proust's theory of art, or the extent to which Proust's practice offends against the canons of Lessing. Mr. Chernowitz has accomplished his task with high merit.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

The careful and welcome publication, by Messrs. Wright and Montgomery, of the catalog of Matthew Prior's art collection (ART BULLETIN, XXVII, 1945, pp. 195 ff.), has doubtless set many of us wondering how many of his pictures, besides those preserved at Welbeck Abbey, can still be identified. Chances are slim, primarily because of scant description and the lack of measurements. But it occurred to me that at least one rather intriguing entry in Prior's catalog might be identified with a fair degree of confidence, and that is no. 75: "Rembrandt, *King David at Prayers*." This was almost invariably listed as a Rembrandt—the attribution of the appraisal list to Hans (recte: Ferdinand?) Bol can most probably be discarded—and was appraised at 15 shillings in 1721, which is not too surprising in the light of the fact that other small Rembrandts were sold at similar sums about that time, e.g., fl. 14.5 for the London *Lament under the Cross* in 1743 (de Groot 136) and fl. 27 for the Berlin *Tobit* of 1645 in 1759 (de Groot 64). The subject *King David at Prayers* is rare in seventeenth-century painting, and as far as Rembrandt is concerned, I would not know of any picture answering this description but the one signed and dated 1651, which is listed as no. 39 by de Groot and reproduced on p. 611 of Bredius' corpus. It was but recently the property of the Schaeffer Galleries in New York. The first owner mentioned by de Groot was Mr. (Charles) Jennens in London (Ormond Street) from whom it was inherited, together with other Rembrandts, by the Howe family at Gopsall where two of them are still to be found. Like some of Jennens' other Rembrandts (de Groot 69a, suppl. 260c, 945, 950, see also ad 52) it was listed in *London and its Environs* (published by R. and J. Dodsley in 1761).¹ It is not known where Jennens acquired all these pic-

1. De Groot omitted the mention of this book in connection with our

tures by Rembrandt; but it is noteworthy that our *David at Prayers* appeared in his collection forty years after Prior's death in 1721. Upon this occasion, Prior's picture was bought by his friend Edward Lord Harley, but it appears neither at Welbeck Abbey nor in the list of pictures sold by Harley's widow in 1742. It might easily have been purchased by Jennens about that time. Harley's name is not found in de Groot's Rembrandt catalog; the Rembrandts now at Welbeck Abbey (de Groot 494 and 579) were acquired from different sources.

No. 57, *A Peasant Family* by Le Nain, showed, according to the inventory, a woman spinning, with her husband and three children standing near her. Of the many pictures by the Le Nain brothers and their followers, which show a woman spinning, only the frequently copied *Dénicheurs d'oiseaux*² contains the above items. However, there are five, not three, children in this composition (although three of them and the father are actually standing near the spinning mother), and it is not too probable that the catalog should have failed to allude to its *genre* motif. Prior's painting is more likely to have been a family portrait proper (Antoine? Louis?) or, in any case, a picture with a less conspicuous *genre* scene.³

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picture; but see the catalog of the Loan Exhibition held at Providence, R.I., in 1938, no. 39.

2. A signed version, published as a Louis Le Nain by P. Jamot in *Gazette des beaux arts*, 1933, 2, p. 294, was considered a joint work of all three brothers by George Isarolo (p. 20, fig. 24, and cat. no. 56 of his profusely illustrated article on "Les trois Le Nain et leur suite," *La Renaissance*, xxi, March 1938, pp. 1-58, with 163 reproductions), while Martin Davies (*The Burlington Magazine*, LXVI, 1935, p. 294, note 4) has not accepted it as an original.

3. Three paintings by followers of the Le Nain do show a family of five, with the mother spinning, but none of them has all of the children standing (Isarolo, *loc. cit.*, figs. 47, 69, 70).

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

PHYLLIS ACKERMAN, *Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China*, New York, The Dryden Press, 1945. Pp. 114, including 66 pls. \$6.00.

NICHOLSON B. ADAMS AND HARRY K. RUSSELL, *A State University Surveys the Humanities*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. 262. \$4.00.

OTTO BENESCH, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945. Pp. 174; 80 ill. \$7.50.

Artists on Art: From the XIV to the XX Century, ed. by Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, New York, Pantheon Books, 1945. Pp. 498; 100 ill. \$4.50.

RICHARD HAMANN, *Geschichte der Kunst*, New York, Mary S. Rosenberg, 1945. Pp. 968; 12 pls. and 1110 ill. \$10.00.

Notes Hispanic, New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1945. Pp. 134; 86 ill. \$1.00.

K. T. PARKER, *The Drawings of Hans Holbein in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. 64; 86 pls. and 31 ill. \$5.00.

The Path of Vision, New York, The Dryden Press, 1945. Pp. 15. \$6.00.

ARTHUR UPHAM POPE, *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, New York, The Dryden Press, 1945. Pp. 204; 9 color pls. and 200 ill. \$10.00.

ERNEST RATHENAU, *Orientalism*, New York, J. J. Augustin, 1945. Pp. 108; 56 pls. \$5.00.

Encyclopedia of the Arts, edited by Dagobert D. Runes and Harry G. Schrickel, New York, The Philosophical Library, 1945. Pp. 1064. \$10.00.

JAMES THRALL SOBY, *The Prints of Paul Klee*, New York, Curt Valentin, 1945. Pp. 48; 40 pls. of which 8 in color. \$15.00.

JOHN JOSEPH STOUT, *The Decorated Barns of Eastern Pennsylvania*, New York, Mrs. C. Naaman Keyser, 1945. Pp. 14; 16 ill.

JAMES JOHNSON SWEENEY, *Stuart Davis*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1945. Pp. 64; 31 pls. \$2.50.

CHARLES DE TOLNAY, *Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling*, Princeton, The University Press, 1945. Pp. 425; 413 ill. \$17.50.

WERNER WEISBACH, *Manierismus in mittelalterlicher Kunst*, Basel, Verlag Birkhauser, 1942. Pp. 40; 32 ill. 16 Swiss francs.

WERNER WEISBACH, *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst*, Zurich, Benziger & Co., 1945. Pp. 230; 48 ill. 16.80 Swiss francs.